

The Review of English Studies

VOL. IV.—No. 15.

JULY 1928.

MORE ETYMOLOGIES FOR HAMLET

BY KEMP MALONE

THE year 1927 was an active one in the field of Hamletian etymology. Besides my own essay,* two long articles, or rather monographs, on the subject appeared independently during the year, each bringing forward a new solution of the problem! It is the purpose of the present paper to present and discuss these new etymologies for Hamlet, in the light of the evidence upon which all etymologies of the name must be based.

I will begin with A. Nordfelt's treatise, entitled *Om det äldre Hamletproblemet*.† After a rapid survey of previous studies, Nordfelt advances an etymology of his own. He believes that *Amlóði* comes from the past participle *hamelod* of the Old English verb *hamelian*, "mutilare," and compares OE. *hamela*, to which (following Vigfusson) he assigns the meaning "fool." He admits that *hamelod* itself occurs only in the sense "mutilated," but points out that the semantic development to "foolish, mad" would not be difficult, and, in fact, has occurred in some words. One may agree with Nordfelt here, and yet remain sceptical of his postulated *hamelod*, " * foolish, * crazy," since there is absolutely no evidence that this particular word ever bore such a meaning. Nor is there any genuine evidence that the kindred *hamela* meant "fool." In the only passage where the word occurs,‡ it seems to mean "a person with cropped hair," and is usually so taken (see the dictionaries).

* "Etymologies for Hamlet," *R.E.S.* iii. 257-271.

† *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar*, Uppsala, 1927.

‡ Alfred's *Laws*, 35, 3; Liebermann, i. 68 f.

Nordfelt, having given to OE. *hamelod* the meaning "foolish, stupid, crazy," is now able to go on to the transmutation of the participial adjective into a proper name. He follows Detter in deriving the Hamlet tale from the Roman tale of Brutus, and in looking upon the name *Hamlet* as a translation of the Latin *brutus*. He differs from Detter in deriving the Northern tale, not directly from the Latin, but indirectly, through an English version. Let us suppose, he says, that a Roman tells an Englishman the story of Lucius Junius, explaining how this Lucius Junius pretended to be *brutus*, "foolish, stupid," and adding that for that reason he came to be called Brutus. The Englishman in due time repeats the tale to a fellow-Englishman, saying that the hero pretended to be *hamelod*, "* foolish, * stupid, * crazy," and therefore came to be called * *Hamelod*. Thus the hero would lose his Latin name and gain instead an English name (though no such name is preserved to us in the English records). Later the Scandinavians would learn the story from the English, and would take over the hero's name in its Old English dress.

One can hardly be expected to accept this account of the history of tale and name without some evidence that an English version of the Brutus story was actually in circulation in Old English times, and that its hero in fact went under the name * *Hamelod*. Needless to say, Nordfelt presents no such evidence (since none exists). There is one piece of evidence, it is true, which indicates that a version of the Hamlet tale was current in mediæval England. I refer to the ME. term of abuse, *amlaze*.* But the existence of this ME. term is not evidence that there was an OE. Hamlet tale, and ME. *amlaze* cannot phonetically be derived from OE. *hamelod*, as Nordfelt admits.

This leads us to the phonetic difficulties involved in Nordfelt's etymology of ON. *Amlóði*. Nordfelt supposes that the English called the hero * *se hameloda*, "the foolish one, the idiot." This was put into Old Norse as * *hinn amlóði*; later the article was dropped, whence the extant *Amlóði*. From a purely phonetic point of view this explanation of *Amlóði* is obviously unsatisfactory. Why should the *h* be dropped? What caused the loss of the *e*? For what reason was the *o* lengthened? And if to the phonetic difficulties we add the numerous other objections which might be advanced (I have set them forth, above, only briefly and in part), we must conclude that Nordfelt's etymology is unsound.

* For a discussion of this term, see below.

Equally unsound, at bottom, though much more elaborately and plausibly presented, is the etymology of *Amlóði* advanced by Meissner.* Like Detter, Andrews and myself, Meissner divides the hero's name into two components, *aml* and *óði*. He goes his own way, however, in his interpretation of these components. He looks upon *óði* as the true name of the hero; *aml* is a substantival by-name, prefixed to the true name by way of characterisation. Our hero, then, is called *aml-Óði*, a name obviously parallel to names like *kveld-Úlfr*, *lygi-Torfi*, etc. Meissner supposes further that by-name and true name grew together as time went on, and that eventually the name came to be felt as a whole, without analysis. The phonetic change involved is simple enough, of course, and hardly needs discussion. In the sound-sequence *amlóði* the natural line of syllabic division lies between *m* and *l*, and such a pronunciation would give a name *Am-lóði* not subject to analysis. When things reached this stage, the characterisation inherent in the by-name would naturally lose its connexion with the name of the hero, and would survive, if at all, only in the story itself, which would be free to develop in directions wholly inconsistent with the original characterisation, now that the by-name no longer blocked the way. And certainly we must presuppose just such a development, if we accept Meissner's etymology. The noun *aml*, which, he thinks, gave to our hero his original characterisation, occurs in Modern Icelandic in the senses "activity which leads to nothing, routine, drudgery." Our hero, then, in the original tale, was drudgery-Óði. He was a drudge about the house, or on the farm, we may fancy, a man with his nose perpetually to the grindstone. It may be that the Hamlet tale grew from such a germ as this, but I must confess my scepticism.

Certainly in the tale as Saxo tells it Hamlet is no drudge. He has no duties of any sort. He is an idler, not a worker. Saxo speaks of his lethargy, but not of his labours. The various episodes of the story, up to the time when Hamlet finally wreaks his vengeance, all conform to the same pattern: the hero's enemies set a trap for him, but he outwits them. To this there is one exception, it is true, and Meissner seizes upon this exception and makes of it the kernel of the tale. Saxo tells us that Hamlet at times occupied himself with making wooden crooks. When asked about them, he replied

* R. Meissner, "Der Name Hamlet," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xlv, 370 ff.

that he was making darts to avenge his father. Everybody laughed at this, but he actually used the crooks in accomplishing his vengeance. In other words, the apparently useless activity proved to be useful. Meissner thinks that the postulated by-name *aml* had reference to this episode. But the episode has another point, and that a point far more pertinent to the story as a whole and in particular to the development of the plot. It was the hero's skill in making the crooks which first led his enemies to suspect him of feigning. And this suspicion of theirs sets the plot going. Hamlet must do something suspicious, of course, to motivate the suspicions and traps of his enemies. The crook-making is not so much an example of useless (or apparently useless) activity as it is a device to start the battle of wits. As such a device it has an important function in the story. As a device to give Hamlet a chance to play on the double meaning of *krókr* ("hook" but also "trick"), it has its importance too. But as an example of drudging its significance is of the slightest, and it is hazardous in the extreme to seize upon this solitary piece of drudgery and make of it the root of the story and the basis for an etymology of the hero's name.

If, in fact, the key to the hero's character were to be found in a by-name *aml*, one would expect the tale to be made up of a series of incidents in which the hero worked hard without achieving anything, for that is the kind of activity that *aml* signifies. What do we actually find? Just the opposite. Not Hamlet but his opponents do the work, and their labours are invariably labours lost. The hero always comes out on top, as indeed a proper hero should. And after he has defeated his enemies often enough to impress the hearer (or reader) duly, he brings the struggle to an end by killing the lot, single-handed. No, *aml* does not characterise Hamlet as Saxo presents him to us. If such a by-name belongs in the tale at all, it belongs rather to Fengo.

Not only *aml* but the whole group of words to which it is related had better be thrown overboard, once for all, so far as Hamlet and the Hamlet saga are concerned. The Icelandic verb *amla* means "tease, quarrel," as well as "work fruitlessly," but since Saxo's Hamlet did not tease and carefully avoided quarrelling these additional meanings of the verb shed no light on hero or saga. The same may be said of Norwegian *amla*, while Danish *amle* is still further removed from the Hamletian sphere. Finally, the verbal abstract *amling* and its derivative *amlingestikker* have nothing whatever to do with

Hamlet or his conduct. The association of these words with Hamlet came about very simply. The common noun *amlóði*, derived from the name of the hero (like our *pander* from Pandarus), was widely used in mediæval Scandinavia in the sense "fool, idiot." In modern times, in Norway, it has come to mean also "mischievous person." This is a perfectly natural development from the older meaning, "fool," of course. But since the phonetically similar verb *amla* meant, among other things, "to make mischief," Dettér rushed to the conclusion that *amlóði* and *amla* were etymologically connected. Unfortunately, he has had followers (myself included).

So far I have confined myself to the matter of characterisation, on which Meissner rightly lays great stress. But there are other aspects of the etymology which need discussion. Meissner believes (and I agree with him) that the Scandinavian hero of a Scandinavian story ought to bear a Scandinavian name. Specifically, he thinks that the hero's true name was *Óði*, his by-name *aml*. Let us examine these supposed names in the light of actual Scandinavian nomenclature, as revealed by the records. We find at once that *aml* is utterly unknown. No Scandinavian, from the earliest times to the present day, has ever borne *aml* as a by-name (or as a true name either). Indeed, the word *aml*, even as a common noun, is unknown in continental Scandinavia, and does not occur in Iceland until strictly modern times. We thus have every reason to think that the Icelandic *aml* is a modern coinage, arising out of the verb *amla*, apparently on the analogy of such word-pairs as *safn* (noun) : *safna* (verb).^{*} When now we come to the hypothetical true name **Óði*, we learn from the records that *óði* is unknown as a true name; it occurs only as a by-name. In my etymology of *Amlóði* I followed the testimony of the records, and interpreted the *-óði* of the hero's name as a by-name. But Meissner interprets it as a true name, in spite of the records, on the ground that a by-name *óði* does not fit Hamlet's character. Since he lays great stress on this point, I will take up the matter here, though not at length.

The adjective *óði* means "eager, impatient, vehement, frantic, mad." If it were originally used as a by-name to characterise our hero, then one would expect the hero's actions to reflect the

^{*} It may be noted that Meissner's etymology commits him to Iceland as the place of birth of the saga, since the characterising component *aml* is Icelandic, not Norwegian or Danish. It happens, however, that the Hamlet saga is one of the few Scandinavian tales in which the Icelandic element seems secondary and unimportant.

characterisation. They do. Hamlet finds his foster-sister in a secluded place, seizes her, drags her off *ad palustre procul inuium* and there ravishes her. One can hardly deny that the procedure is a bit violent. Later, Hamlet catches a man eavesdropping, stabs him with his sword, drags him forth, kills him, chops up his body into small pieces and feeds these to the swine. He now turns on his mother, addressing her in terms of violent abuse. After this the king turns him over to two keepers, who take him off; they have secret instructions to effect his death. But Hamlet effects the death of the keepers! He now returns home, sets fire to the king's hall, and burns all the courtiers alive. He finishes the job by going to the king's bower, waking him, and cutting him down as he leaps from bed. Surely a man with such a career was dangerous enough and violent enough to deserve the epithet *óði*. His treatment of the eavesdropper alone would suffice, nowadays, to put him in the madhouse as an *óðr maðr* indeed.

But if Hamlet usually plays the man of violence, he at times plays a very different part, that of the simpleton, the idiot, and Meissner rightly emphasises the fact. Where does this part come from? In my opinion it did not belong to the earliest form of the Hamlet saga, but was introduced into the tale from the Brutus story, where feigned idiocy is original, as the name of its hero reveals. It is well known, and generally recognised, that the story of Brutus had a strong influence on the development of the Hamlet saga. Its most important effect, I think, was to introduce this feigned idiocy into the tale, thus obscuring the older conception of the hero's character. The career of violence, however inappropriate to a supposed idiot, made the tale exciting and could hardly be discarded, but it was reinterpreted to a considerable extent, and fresh material, more appropriate to the part of idiot, was added. Thus, the rape of the foster-sister, properly a deed of violence pure and simple, was made into an intelligence test.* In the eavesdropping scene Hamlet was made to crow like a cock and flap his arms as if they were wings. The hero's madcap horsemanship was given an idiotic twist. Even the final scene, in which the hero, with a berserkr-like audacity, undertakes and carries through, single-handed, the slaughter of Fengo and his whole comitatus, even this scene was done over in terms of trickery and feigned idiocy. But the murder and mutilation

* See my discussion, *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, i. 257 ff., although my views have somewhat changed since I published this maiden effort.

of the eavesdropper remain to bear witness to the original character of the hero. Had Hamlet been nothing more than a clever man who feigned idiocy, he would have behaved more intelligently in this episode. Obviously, he ought to have let the eavesdropper lurk in safety and listen to his heart's content. It would have been easy to engage the queen in a conversation so innocent that Fengo, on hearing the report of his emissary, would believe his suspicions unfounded.* But Hamlet, at bottom, was not that kind of man at all. He could no more control himself here than he could when he met his foster-sister in the secluded spot. When he sensed the presence of an eavesdropper he was overcome with rage and lost his head. He dragged the offender forth from his hiding-place, killed him, and chopped up his body into bits, and all this in his mother's presence! The queen at that moment would hardly have subscribed to Meissner's theory that the by-name *óði* did not fit her son's character! When Hamlet came to his senses he shrewdly hid the traces of his mad crime and swore his mother to silence, but the king missed his servant, feared the worst (he understood, better than modern scholars, the impetuosity of Hamlet's nature, and prudently let somebody else do the eavesdropping), and made immediate arrangements to have Hamlet put to death. Hamlet had come out on top again in the battle of wits, but his method was so poor that he at once had another and far more desperate battle on his hands.

I think I have said enough to show that *óði* is a by-name which the hero of the primitive saga might well have borne. Let us therefore proceed to yet another aspect of Meissner's etymology: the phonetic aspect. The development of the various Scandinavian forms of the name from the postulated **aml-Óði* is possible enough, phonetically.† The English and Irish forms are more troublesome. Indeed, Marstrander has denied ‡ that the Irish *Amlaide* has any

* Such is the method employed, and such is the happy issue, in the eavesdropping episode of the *Tristan* saga.

† Of these forms, Meissner fails to discuss the interesting Modern Icelandic *Ambales*. This name-form goes back, I think, to a learned *Ambletus* got from some MS. of Saxo. Since *mb* is not an Icelandic sound-sequence, it was natural enough that among the folk a svarabhakti vowel should develop between *b* and *l*, to ease the pronunciation; hence the second *a* of *Ambales*. Again, the totally unstressed *u*, between the two dental spirants *th* (i.e. *ð*) and *s*, might easily be crowded out, giving a final *ðs* which inevitably would be simplified to *s*. That some MSS. of Saxo had *Ambletus* is indicated by the *Ambletus* of the Gheysmer epitome.

‡ Carl J. S. Marstrander, in *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland*, p. 120 (monograph No. 5 of the *Skrifter of the Videnskapselskapet i Kristiania* for 1915, *Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse*). See also pp. 47 f.

connexion with Hamlet or the Hamlet saga, and derives it from ON. *Haflíði*. But Marstrander's etymology is more than doubtful, since the ON. *f* would hardly be represented, in the stressed syllable, by an *m*, and the *fl* of *Haflíði* would be palatal (witness the palatal *rl* of Irish *Somarlid*, *Somairle* = Old Norse *Sumarliði*). A Scandinavian consonant-group followed by a palatal vowel appears in Irish in palatalised form, unless the group includes an Irish stop; for the purposes of this rule a stop-nasal is reckoned a stop. Moreover, the English *amlaze*, *amlagh*, undoubtedly go back to an Irish form of Hamlet's name, as we shall see. It seems reasonable, then, to revert to Stokes, who derived *Amlaíde* from ON. *Amlóðe*, and to examine this etymology minutely, with a view to determining whether it is phonetically possible. Meissner, in fact, reverts to Stokes, but he fails to make the minute examination which the case calls for. Indeed, he virtually gives the problem up. Let us see if, after all, it is not capable of solution.

If we begin with the vocalisation, we see that the correspondence is exact except in the middle syllable, where we find *-a-* in the Irish for the *-ó-* of the Icelandic name (the *i* of *Amlaíde* is only a spelling device to mark the palatalised pronunciation of the *d* which follows it). We seem to have to do here with a reduction of the vowel, both in quantity and in quality, a reduction which came about by virtue of lack of stress. The general principles which govern such reductions have been stated by Marstrander, who says:

Den sterke oldirske akcent som i substantivet altid faldt paa første stavelse førte i tidlig middelirsk tid til sammenblanding av de ubetonte vokaler. Disse ordner sig nu stort set i to grupper: et mørkt og et lyst schwa, hvis farve varierer efter de omgivende konsonanter. Et av den middelirske ortografis særmerker er derfor sammenblandingen av *a*, *o*, *u* og *e*, *i* i svagt betonte stavelser. Ogsaa i de norske laaneord kommer denne sammenblanding tydelig frem, skjønt den etymologiske vokal her i almindelighet er bibeholdt. Dette skyldes dels traditionel ortografi dels ogsaa—som i sammensætninger med *-olfr*, *-mundr*—en sterk norsk bitone some lot vokalen træ særlig tydelig frem.*

I should prefer to say simply that there were two main types of unstressed vowels; a velar type, usually written as *a*, and a palatal type, usually written as *e*. Certainly one cannot speak with assurance about the exact quality, in early Middle Irish times, of these unstressed vowels.

* *Op. cit.* p. 80.

The question now arises, to what extent was the middle vowel of *Amlaide* stressed? Fortunately, we can answer this question with absolute certainty. The name is preserved to us in the following verses, composed by Queen Gormflaith in memory of two of her husbands:

Olc form commaoin an da Ghall
marbhaat Niall agus Cearbhall,
Cearbhall la hUib comhal nglé
Niall Glundubh la hAmhlaidhe.*

Here the rime *nglé* : *dhe* shows that a secondary stress (light, no doubt) rested on the final syllable. The main stress lay on the first syllable, of course. The middle syllable must therefore have been pronounced very feebly indeed, and it is not surprising that in such a position even a long vowel underwent reduction to *a*.

I am unable to offer a parallel Irish reduction of ON. *ó* to *a* in a middle syllable, since no Old Norse trisyllabic word, with *ó* in the middle syllable, occurs in Irish monuments, unless the word under discussion be reckoned an instance! But I can bring forward a case of reduction as drastic in quantity and even more drastic in quality. Marstrander has pointed out that the early Middle Irish *blæ* comes from ON. *blæja*.† The vowel in the Irish word was long and a close *e* in quality; we may therefore make the rule: ON. *æ* when followed by *j* gives Irish long close *e*.‡ But in Irish *brotbla*, from ON. *brot-blæja*, the ON. long vowel *æ* appears both shortened and reduced to *a*. Apparently, then, the Irish, in taking over an Old Norse trisyllabic word, shortened and reduced to *a* even a long front or mixed vowel of the middle syllable. No such shortening and reduction took place, needless to say, if the long vowel were in the final syllable. The reason for this difference is clear enough. Irish stress was rhythmical, and in a word of three syllables the middle syllable would be the weakest; at any rate it was the weakest in *Amlaide*, as the verses quoted above demonstrate. Examples of an Irish reduction of ON. *o* to *a* are listed by Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 85. These may serve as parallels to *Amlaide* so far as the change in the quality of the vowel is concerned, while *brotbla*

* *Four Masters*, under the year 917 (2d ed., J. O'Donovan, ii. 596). I have for typographical convenience replaced the *punctum delens* by *h*.

† *Op. cit.* p. 38.

‡ Otherwise we get *d* plus palatalisation of the following consonant; see Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 76. The Irish monophthong *æ* probably had "mixed" rather than "front" articulation, though Marstrander describes it simply as a close *e*.

gives us a parallel from both quantitative and qualitative points of view.*

Phonetically, then, the second *a* of *Amlaide* may perfectly well go back to an ON. *ó*. Nevertheless, this reduction could hardly have taken place in Old Irish times. Gormflaith, who flourished in the tenth century, doubtless said *Amlode*, and the reduction to *Amlaide* may not have taken place until a couple of centuries later. The name *Amlaide* survives to us only in Gormflaith's verses, and these verses survive only in two documents known as the *Three Fragments* (*TF.*) and the *Four Masters* (*FM.*). Both *TF.* and *FM.* are collections of annalistic material. This material, without question, was drawn from mediæval written sources, but these sources have not survived to us, and *TF.* and *FM.*, as we have them, belong to strictly modern times.† Furthermore, we have no means of knowing at what linguistic period Gormflaith's verses, previously handed down in oral tradition, were first committed to writing and inserted into the mediæval annalistic documents on which *TF.* and *FM.* are based. The verses as they stand, however, were obviously not copied *literatim* from an Old Irish original, and we may therefore with a reasonable degree of safety assume that *Amlaide* is the Middle Irish rather than the Old Irish form of the name of the Scandinavian warrior mentioned by Gormflaith.

Meissner's, or rather Stokes's, etymology of the Irish *Amlaide*, then, is sound enough, so far as the vowel of the middle syllable is concerned. But it nevertheless suffers from an incurable phonetic weakness in the first syllable. I refer to the *m*. In mediæval Irish, as in Old Norse and Old English, there existed both a *fortis* or strong *m* and a *lenis* or weak *m*. The strong *m* was pronounced much like the ordinary English *m* of to-day. The weak *m* was a spirant; it may roughly be described as a nasalised *v*. Now, in Old Norse the

* The nickname *Inscoa* (Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 52), from ON. **inn-skór*, pl. **inn-skóar*, might be brought forward as an example of the preservation of an ON. medial *ó* in Irish. But even the plural form of the Old Norse word is trisyllabic only by virtue of a hiatus, and hence differs markedly from the sharply trisyllabic *broitbleja* and *Amlóði*. Moreover, the nickname occurs also as a simple *Scoa* (Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 152), and the *o* of *Inscoa* would thus be supported by association with the strongly stressed *o* of *Scoa*. Marstrander wishes to emend *Scoa* to *Inscoa*, but this emendation is unnecessary. More probably the Irish took the *in-* of *Inscoa* for their own definite article, and hence felt free to drop it on occasion; see H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram. der kelt. Sp.* II. 179 (§508, 3). If so, *Inscoa* as well as *Scoa* had its stress on the *o*, and can have no bearing on the history of *Almaide*, which of course had initial stress.

† See W. Stokes, in *BB.* xviii. 57 f.

weak *m* (written sometimes *m*, sometimes *f*) appeared regularly before *n*, and sporadically before *r*. It is unknown before *l*.^{*} We may be absolutely sure, then, that the *m* of ON. *Amlóðe* was not a spirant. It was, in fact, a half-long, stopped *m*. As such, it would without question be represented in Irish by the Irish strong *m*.† Now, in mediæval Irish orthography the strong *m* was marked by the spelling *mm*; the weak *m*, by a single *m* with the *punctum delens* over it (or by *mh*). The single *m* without the *punctum delens* was an ambiguous sign; it was used indiscriminately for both kinds of *m*. How is *Amlaide* spelt in the two monuments which have preserved the name to us? In *TF*. it is recorded only once, and appears with the ambiguous single *m* without the *punctum delens*. This monument, then, gives us no information about the strength, or weakness, of the *m*. When we turn to *FM*., however, we get definite information. The name is recorded twice in *FM*. Under the year 904 the spelling is *m* with the *punctum delens*. Under the year 917 the spelling is *mh*. We are forced to conclude that the *m* of our name was a spirant. But in that case the Irish *Amlaide* cannot come from ON. *Amlóðe*, and Meissner's (*i.e.* Stokes's) etymology falls to the ground.‡ For the same reason one must reject the etymology of *Amlaide* suggested (as a bare possibility) by Thurneysen to Meissner and recorded by Meissner on p. 378 of his treatise. For if the hypothetical Irish adjective **amlaide*, "simple," ever existed, its *m* was stopped, not spirantic.

My own etymology of *Hamlet* is like Meissner's in one respect at least: we both begin by postulating a *complex*, true name + by-name, which later, by a natural phonetic development, became a *simplex*, used without analysis. We differ profoundly, however, in our method of determining the elements of the original complex. I searched the Scandinavian records for a true name and a by-name, both actually used in mediæval times, which would meet the phonetic conditions. Meissner evolved, out of his inner consciousness, a true name and a by-name, which are unknown to Scandinavia whether in mediæval or in modern times, and which do not meet the phonetic conditions. My search ended when I found the true name *Ále*

* In a couple of modern dialects we find it before *l* too, in a few words, but this phenomenon is strictly modern. See Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 159.

† Marstrander, *op. cit.* p. 120 top.

‡ It may be noted that in the normalised mediæval Irish orthography adopted by Thurneysen for his forthcoming Old and Middle Irish Dictionary, the stopped *m* is regularly spelt *mm*, and the single *m* regularly denotes the spirant, except in initial position.

(with its variant *Óle*) and the by-name *óðe*. These names both occur in mediæval Scandinavia, the one as a true name, the other as a by-name, and they are the only names which meet the phonetic conditions. *Ále* is from an earlier **Anle*, which in its turn comes from a primitive Scandinavian **Anala* = OE. *Onela*, OHG. *Analo*.^{*} The form **Anle* maintained itself into the tenth century, but its *n* was lost at some time during that century, with nasalisation and "compensatory" lengthening of the vowel preceding.[†] As an intermediate stage between the earlier stopped *n* and the later vocalised *n*, a spirantic *n* must be assumed. And a nasal spirant is actually recorded for us in a Scandinavian name, *Áleifr*, earlier **Anlaifr*, the first element of which, like the first element of *Ále*, goes back to a primitive **ana*.[‡] In the Irish records we find frequent mention of Scandinavians named *Amlaib*, i.e. **Anlaifr*, where the Irish form has a spirant *m*, got from the Scandinavian spirant *n*; obviously the Irish, who had no spirant *n* in their language, substituted for it their spirant *m*. My etymology of *Hamlet* is based on the not unreasonable hypothesis that the Irish followed the same methods in pronouncing **Anle* which we know they followed in pronouncing **Anlaifr*.[§]

I take **Anle*, then, to be the hero's true name; *óðe*, to be his by-name. *Anle óðe*, put into Old Irish, became **Amlode*, whence the later and reduced Middle Irish form *Amlaide* preserved to us in *TF*. and *FM*. From the original Irish form I derive the extant Scandinavian form directly; since Old Norse did not tolerate a spirant *m* before *l*, a stopped *m* was substituted, precisely as in Danish *samle* from the earlier *samna*, *saþna*. The English forms *amlaze*, *amlagh* remain. Meissner does not attempt to explain them. He says something, however, which has given me the clue to their phonology, and for this I hope I am properly grateful. Meissner

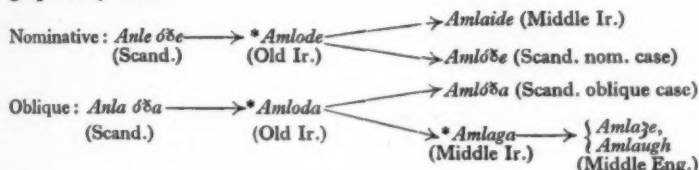
^{*} For this etymology, see A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*,¹ p. 105; H. Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, pp. 17 f. (*Acta Germanica*, Neue Reihe, Heft 1); A. Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*,² p. 30. The primitive **Anala* is to be analysed into two elements: *ana* and *la*.

[†] Noreen, *op. cit.* pp. 108, 220.

[‡] Naumann, *loc. cit.*

[§] That the *m* of *Amlaib* was a true spirant (not a mere sign to mark the nasality of the vowel preceding) is proved by the fact that in Cymric mouths it became a simple *v*, reflecting the well-known Cymric sound-change: spirant *m* > *v*. The name, continuing its travels, went over from Cymric into English, where it appears as *Havelok*, with a simple *v* derived from the Cymric form of the name. Again, the initial vowel of *Amlaib* is regularly short in the Irish monuments (Marstrand, *op. cit.* pp. 61 f.), which means that the nasal consonant in **Anlaifr* had not been vocalised, but was still in the spirantic stage.

remarks, by way of commentary on *Amlaide*, that the Irish usually took over Scandinavian names in an oblique case, rather than in the nominative. The point is familiar, of course, but for some curious reason nobody has ever applied it to the ME. forms of the name *Hamlet*. I hasten to fill the gap! *Anle óðe* in any oblique case would be *Anla óða*, which would give an Old Irish **Amloda*, whence a Middle Irish **Amlaga* (with spirant *g*, as usual, for the earlier spirant *d*). From the Middle Irish form can be derived, without the least difficulty, both the Middle English forms. Compare OE. *feolaza*, "fellow," which gave ME. *felaze*, *felawze*, *felauh*, etc. The phonetic development as a whole may be represented graphically thus:



For a detailed discussion of my etymology of *Hamlet* I must refer the reader to my previous essay, cited at the beginning of the present paper. Here I have devoted myself, for the most part, to the etymologies of Nordfelt and Meissner. I think I have made it clear that neither of these etymologies meets the issue, and that my derivation of *Hamlet* from *Anle óðe* still holds the field.

THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V: ITS PLACE IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE

BY BERNARD M. WARD

Introductory.

It is probably true to say that the anonymous play entitled *The Famous Victories of Henry V* owes any notoriety that it may have achieved to the fact that Shakespeare based upon it some of the best-known scenes in his trilogy 1 & 2 *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. This has been well known to all critics since the days of Edmund Malone. On the other hand, they are nearly all unanimous in saying that Shakespeare's debt to the older play does not extend beyond taking a hint or two here and there. In a sense this is true. Not a single line in the *Famous Victories* has been adopted verbatim by Shakespeare. Moreover, both have a common source—the *Chronicles* of Hall and Holinshed. When, therefore, we come to consider Shakespeare's historical scenes, e.g. the episode of Prince Henry taking the crown before his father's death, King Henry V forbidding his former companions to approach within ten miles of the Palace, the Dauphin's present of tennis balls, the details of the Battle of Agincourt, the sealing of the Treaty of Troyes by the marriage of Henry and Katherine, it is impossible to say whether he was utilising the *Famous Victories* or working direct from the chroniclers.

But in a less specific way—that is to say, when we come to consider the general arrangement and technique of the *Famous Victories* and the *Trilogy*—it is no exaggeration to say that Shakespeare owed an immense debt to the older play. I propose to examine this debt under three headings :

1. *The Combination of History and Comedy.*

In only three out of all his historical plays has Shakespeare interwoven history and comedy in roughly alternating scenes. These three comprise the *Trilogy* we are considering. In all the other plays historical scenes follow one another uninterruptedly without

the introduction of any non-historical comic relief. Now this interweaving of history and comedy is one of the most striking features of the *Famous Victories*. Out of its 22 scenes 9 are definitely comic; and the fact that they are numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, and 21 shows how the comic thread is interwoven throughout the historical story told in the play. It is significant that Shakespeare should have treated the *Trilogy* only in this way, and is alone a sufficient testimony that his acquaintance with and debt to the older play was much deeper than the "few hints" that critics would have us believe.

2. *The Period covered by the Famous Victories and the Trilogy.*

I do not remember ever having seen it pointed out before that both the *Famous Victories* and the *Trilogy* cover exactly the same period. The *Famous Victories* opens in the reign of King Henry IV with the Prince of Wales' escapade on Gad's Hill; and it closes with the French King giving the hand of his daughter to Henry V. The second scene in the *Trilogy* (1 *Henry IV*, 1. ii.) depicts the Gad's Hill escapade being planned; and the last scene (*Henry V*, v. ii.) concludes, as in the older play, with King Henry V accepting the hand of the Princess Katherine. This is all the more curious because the details of the Gad's Hill episode are absolutely non-historical, and Shakespeare has followed the *Famous Victories* in these details with remarkable fidelity. In both cases the assailants are the Prince and three of his wild companions, the victims are two of the King's Receivers (or tax-collectors), and the amount of the booty is £1000. This shows us once again that the importance of the *Famous Victories* as a source of the *Trilogy* was far from being inconsiderable.

3. *The Characters.*

We should naturally expect to find the same historical characters both in the older play and the *Trilogy*. But it is significant when we find that four of the non-historical characters are not only common to both in name but are playing the same parts:

- (a) Sir John Oldcastle in the *Victories* is one of the young Prince's wild companions. It is well known that in the First Part of *Henry IV* Falstaff was originally called Oldcastle. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the historical Sir John Oldcastle as depicted by the chroniclers was a distinguished soldier and Lollard martyr, and bears no resemblance whatever—save in name—to the Oldcastle of the *Victories* or the Falstaff of *Henry IV*.

- (b) Ned in the *Famous Victories*, another of the Prince's companions, becomes Ned Poins in the *Trilogy*.
- (c) The Thief, *alias* Gadshill, in the *Victories*, a third of the Prince's companions, re-appears as Gadshill in the First Part of *Henry IV*.
- (d) Robin Pewterer is one of three typical Elizabethan artizans who figure in some of the comic scenes of the *Victories*. In 1 *Henry IV*, II. i. there is a scene between Gadshill and two Carriers. The 2nd Carrier (line 49) addresses the 1st Carrier as "neighbour Mugs." When Shakespeare wrote this he must surely have had in mind the Robin "Pewterer" of the *Victories*.

I do not pretend to have exhausted the parallels between the older play and the *Trilogy*. The favourite haunt of Prince Hal and his companions—"the old tavern in Eastcheap"—is common to both. There is much similarity in idea between the clown Dericke capturing a French soldier (*F.V.* scene 18) and Pistol performing the same feat (*Henry V*, IV. iv.). The resemblance between the two wooing scenes (*F.V.* scene 20; *Henry V*, v. ii.) has frequently been remarked by previous commentators. The scene in 2 *Henry IV* (III. ii.) where Falstaff impresses recruits in Gloucestershire is very reminiscent of a similar incident in the *Victories* (scene 12), where Dericke and John Cobler are forcibly enlisted for service in France. "In 1 *Henry IV* occur the father-and-son burlesques acted by Falstaff and the Prince (II. iv.); in the *Famous Victories* (scene 5) there is a similar burlesque by Dericke and John Cobler of the scene in which Harry boxes the ear of the Lord Chief Justice." * Every historical incident in the older play is reproduced in the *Trilogy* with only one exception—the incident of the Prince boxing the ears of the Lord Chief Justice; but this incident, although not actually performed on the stage, is twice alluded to (2 *Henry IV*, I. ii. and v. ii.). Of course there are many historical incidents in the *Trilogy* that do not occur in the *Famous Victories*. This is natural, because the former—even in its shorter quarto forms—is nearly five times as long as the older play.

I feel sure that if any one who is well acquainted with the *Trilogy* were to read the *Famous Victories* closely he would agree with me that Shakespeare, so far from merely borrowing a "few hints" from the

* A. E. Morgan, *Some Problems of Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth* (Sh. Assoc., 1924).

older play, took from it the entire design—lock, stock, and barrel—together with all its historical scenes, many of its non-historical ones, and several of the names of the non-historical characters. That this has not been observed before is because no commentator, as far as I am aware, has ever compared the *Famous Victories* to the *Trilogy* as a whole; but has created two watertight compartments in which he has placed *Henry IV* and *Henry V* respectively before examining the older play as a source.

The ensuing pages are an attempt to throw a little more light on this very interesting play, and to offer a suggestion as to its authorship and date.

Section 1. External Evidence.

The very scanty external evidence that we possess about the *Famous Victories* is familiar to most students; and as it is readily accessible I propose only to give a brief chronological summary of the information that it provides:

1. The play was acted by the Queen's company some time between 1583 and 1588.*

2. In 1592 Thomas Nashe alluded in glowing terms to the scene in which the conquered King of France and the Dauphin are forced to swear fealty to King Henry V.†

3. It was entered S.R. by Thomas Creede on May 14, 1594.‡

4. It was printed by Thomas Creede in 1598.

These few scraps comprise all the external evidence concerning the *Famous Victories* that has survived. From them we learn nothing of the author, and nothing of the date when it was first written or presented—save that it must have been acted some time before 1588. We must therefore turn to the internal evidence provided by the play itself.

Section 2. An Analysis of the Famous Victories.

Note.—In writing the *Famous Victories* the author has drawn upon two sources—history and his own imagination. I propose now to give a *précis* of the play showing how these two factors are interwoven throughout. The scene-divisions—which are not given in the quarto—are indicated

* E. K. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, ii, 327.

† *Works of Thomas Nashe* (ed. McKerrow), i, 213. Actually in the play (scene 22) the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy swear fealty to King Henry, but Nashe's allusion is evidently to the *Famous Victories*.

‡ Arber, ii, 648.

between square brackets. The nature of the scene—historical, semi-historical, or non-historical—is also given between square brackets. By historical I mean a scene in which the chronicler providing the source has been followed so closely that even his very phrases and expressions are incorporated in the play. By semi-historical I mean a scene which has been built up from a single sentence or a mere hint from the chronicler. And by non-historical I mean those scenes which are entirely the product of the author's own imagination.

[Scene 1. Gad's Hill, Kent. May 20 in the 14th year of King Henry IV.] [Semi-historical.]

Prince Henry and three of his wild companions—Ned, Tom, and Sir John Oldcastle—are discussing a robbery they had carried out in disguise on the previous night. The booty amounts to £1000. The victims are two of King Henry IV's Receivers (or Tax-collectors) who were on their way to the Exchequer. At this point enter the two Receivers, who, failing to recognise their assailants, fall on their knees before the Prince and implore his forgiveness for having allowed themselves to be robbed. This is granted; and they are allowed to depart on condition they do not mention the episode to any one.

We also learn that there was originally a fifth member of the Prince's party. This was the Thief—*alias* Gadshill, *alias* Cutbert Cutter. He had separated from the other four during the previous night, and had attacked and robbed a Carrier called Dericke. Sir John Oldcastle informs the Prince that he has been caught, whereupon the Prince undertakes to save his life.

Prince Hal and his companions then discuss where they shall spend their booty. The latter suggest the ale-house at Faversham. The Prince however declares for "the old tavern at Eastcheap," to which all agree. Exeunt.

[Scene 2. London. The following night.*] [Non-historical.]

The scene opens with three typical Elizabethan Londoners—John Cobar, Robin Pewterer, and Lawrence Costermonger—doing the night watch. To them enters Dericke complaining that he has been robbed.† In the middle of his explanation the Thief comes in and inquires the way to "the old tavern at Eastcheap." Dericke recognises him and calls upon the other three to seize him. At this juncture enter the vintner's boy employed at the Eastcheap tavern. He is bursting with "such news as never you have heard the like." He relates that two hours ago Prince Hal and his company came to the tavern. Having made merry with "wine good store" they commenced a brawl in the street outside, in the course of which the Mayor and Sheriff arrived on the scene, arrested

* The place and time are shown by the following sentences: "We will watch here by Billingsgate Ward"; "I think it is about mid-night."

† Dericke is also referred to as "the Clowne," so this was evidently Richard Tarleton's part when the play was acted by the Queen's company in the 'eighties.

the Prince, and carried him off to the Counter prison. "Here is news indeed," says John Cobler. The scene concludes with Dericke and his three companions dragging off the Thief to Newgate.

[Scene 3. The Palace. The following day.] [Semi-historical.]

King Henry IV, attended by the Earl of Exeter and Lord Oxford. To them enter the Mayor and Sheriff, who explain the doings of the previous night which culminated in the arrest of Prince Hal. The King dismisses them, and laments his son's excesses. Exeter and Oxford plead for the young Prince.

[Scene 4. A Law Court. The same day.] [Semi-historical.]

The Thief, under the name of Cutbert Cutter, is being tried by the Lord Chief Justice for robbing Dericke at Gad's Hill on May 20th, "in the fourteen year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Henry the fourth." In the course of the proceedings enter Prince Hal accompanied by Ned and Tom. He points out that the Thief is his servant; but the L.C.J. replies that he must be hanged. An altercation follows, whereupon the Prince gives the L.C.J. a box on the ear and releases the Thief.

[Scene 5. The same day.] [Non-historical.]

A comic scene in which Dericke, as the Prince, and John Cobler, as the L.C.J., burlesque the episode of the box on the ear.

[Scene 6. Outside the Palace. The same day.] [Non-historical.]

The Prince, Ned, Tom, and Sir John Oldcastle are chuckling over the episode in the Law Court. The Prince tells Ned that when he becomes King he will make him (Ned) his Lord Chief Justice; and that when highway robbers are brought up for trial they are not to be hanged but are to receive a pension out of the Exchequer. The Prince goes on to say that he hears his father is sick; and is about to enter the Palace when the King, the Earl of Exeter, and Lord Oxford come out. Lord Oxford informs the King that the Prince wishes to speak to him. The King consents to see him alone.

[Scene 7. Inside the Palace.] [Semi-historical.]

Enter the King and the Prince. The King, weeping, upbraids his son. The Prince, conscience stricken, declares he is unfit to wear the crown. He is about to depart when the King calls him back and they are reconciled.

[Scene 8. A London street.] [Non-historical.]

A comic interlude between Dericke and John Cobler.

[Scene 9. The King's bed-chamber. March 20, 1413.]

[Historical.]

The King is asleep. Enter the Prince, who, thinking he is dead, takes the crown and goes out. Enter the Earl of Exeter and Lord Oxford. The King wakes up and is asking for his crown when the Prince re-appears with it in his hand. The King chides him; but the Prince explains the innocence of his motives and his devotion to his father. They are once more reconciled; and the King dies, prophesying a victorious reign for his son and successor.

[Scene 10. The Palace. After the coronation of King Henry V.]

[Semi-historical.]

Sir John Oldcastle, Ned, Tom and the Thief are discussing their prospects now that Prince Hal is King. Enter the King, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Oxford. Ned reminds the King of his promise to make him Lord Chief Justice. The King bids him mind his manners, rebukes the others, and dismisses them with the warning that they are forbidden to approach within ten miles of his presence.

[Scene 11. The same.]

[Historical.]

The King, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Oxford. The Archbishop, in answer to the King's question about French affairs, tells him that his claim to the French throne is justified. He urges war, but advises first the conquest of Scotland. Lord Oxford on being appealed to agrees; but prefers the plan of conquering France first. Enter the Duke of York (just returned from an embassy to the French King), the Earl of Exeter, and the Archbishop of Bruges (the ambassador from France). The latter explains that the King of France, while not admitting Henry V's claim to the French throne, offers him 50,000 crowns a year and the hand of his daughter Katherine. Henry V refuses this offer. The Archbishop then presents the King with "a tunne of Tennis balles," sent from the Dauphin. The King, deeply insulted, bids the ambassador inform the Dauphin that he will "tosse him balles of brasse and yron" in return; and dismisses him. The King then orders Lords Oxford and Exeter to prepare a fleet at Southampton to carry an invading army across to France. The scene concludes with the King appointing his old enemy the Lord Chief Justice to be Protector of England during his absence.

[Scene 12. A London street.]

[Non-historical.]

A comic scene in which Dericke, John Cobler, and the Thief are all impressed by a Captain for service with the French Expeditionary Force.

[Scene 13. The French Court. 1415.]

[Historical.]

The King, Dauphin, and Constable of France. Enter the Archbishop of Bruges, who has just returned from his English mission. He tells the

King that Henry V has refused all compromise, and has already landed in Normandy and laid siege to Harfleur. The King calls every one to arms, appoints the Constable Commander-in-Chief, but refuses the Dauphin's wish to be given a command.

[Scene 14. Agincourt. The English Camp.] [Historical.]

King Henry comments on the good omen for future success provided by the fall of Harfleur. The Duke of York reminds him of the sorry plight the English Army is reduced to by sickness and lack of food. Lord Oxford begs to be given command of the Vanguard in the coming battle; but Henry tells him this has already been promised to the Duke of York. Enter a Herald bearing the French King's defiance. Henry sends him back with a similar message. The scene concludes with the King going off to reconnoitre the French Army.

[Scene 15. Agincourt. The French Camp.] [Historical.]

Three French soldiers are playing dice for the ransoms they hope to get for their prisoners in the coming battle. Enter a French Captain, who enlarges on the excellence of the French Army and the weakness of the English.

[Scene 16. Agincourt. The English Camp.] [Historical.]

King Henry and his attendant Lords. Lord Oxford estimates that the French number 100,000 men. The King outlines the order of battle, and consents to Lord Oxford's desire to be put in charge of the palisade of stakes by means of which he hopes to break the French cavalry charges. Enter the French Herald once more, bringing a final offer from the King of France. Henry rejects the offer and dismisses the Herald. The battle.

[Scene 17. Agincourt. After the battle.] [Historical.]

Lord Oxford informs the King that over 10,000 Frenchmen have been killed, while of the English only the Duke of York and 25 soldiers are dead. Enter the Herald bearing the French King's submission. He craves to be allowed to bury their dead, and requests a parley to arrange peace terms. On being informed by the Herald that the castle near the battlefield is called the Castle of Agincourt, Henry declares that the battle shall be known by this name.

[Scene 18. The same.] [Non-historical.]

A comic scene in which Dericke outwits a French soldier who had captured him.

[Scene 19. Troyes. May 20, 1420.] [Historical.]

King Henry offers terms of peace to the King of France. The latter retires to deliberate with his council.

[Scene 20. The same.]

[Non-historical.]

King Henry soliloquises regarding his desire to marry Katherine, the daughter of the King of France. Enter Katherine. The wooing scene follows. Katherine expresses her willingness to marry Henry, but says she must first get her father's permission.

[Scene 21. Agincourt. After the battle.]

[Non-historical.]

Dericke and John Cobler discuss how to betake themselves and their booty back to England.

[Scene 22. Troyes. May 30, 1420.]

[Historical.]

The conclusion of the Treaty of Peace between England and France. The Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin swear fealty to King Henry. The King of France gives the hand of his daughter Katherine to the King of England.

Section 3. *The Historical Source of the Famous Victories.*

Note on Authorities quoted.—References to the *Famous Victories* are to the facsimile reproduction of the earliest known quarto (1598) in *The Bankside Shakespeare*, Vol. xvi (New York, n.d.). References to Hall's Chronicle are to *Hall's Chronicle; containing the History of England . . . carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550* (London, 1809). References to Holinshed's Chronicle are to *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, vol. iii (London, 1808). I have checked the references to Hall and Holinshed with the first editions (1548 and 1578 respectively) in the British Museum.

There would, at first glance, appear to be no doubt whatever as to the historical source used by the author of the *Famous Victories*. All the historical scenes in the play teem with phrases that are frequently purely verbatim plagiarisms of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Holinshed, moreover, first published his history in 1578; so that if we assume the *Famous Victories* to have been written in the 'eighties it would seem to be perfectly obvious that Holinshed was the source of the historical scenes in the play.

In reality, however, the problem is not quite so simple as appears at first sight. A complication arises owing to the fact that Holinshed has incorporated into his history extensive verbatim extracts from an older history. This older history is Hall's *Chronicle*, which was first published in 1548. When, therefore, we find parallels between the play and both chronicles we cannot be certain which of the latter was being used by the author of the *Victories*.

It was with the object of trying to ascertain which of these was the source of the play that I made an exhaustive comparison between all three. When I had rejected all the incidents and phrases in the play that were common to both Hall and Holinshed (and might therefore have been derived from either) I was left with the following result :

1. There are five instances of phrases in the play which are to be found in Hall but not in Holinshed.
2. There is one instance of a phrase in the play which is to be found in Holinshed but not in Hall.

I now propose to deal with these two in turn.

1. The most striking case of the author of the play using actual phrases which are to be found in Hall but not in Holinshed occurs in scene 15 :

F.V. : (A French Captain says) :

" Why who ever saw a more flourishing armie in France
In one day, then here is ? Are not here all the Peers of
France ? Are not here the Normans with their firie hand-
Gunnes, and slaunching Curtleares ?
Are not here the Barbarians with their bard horses,
And lanching speares ?
Are not here Pickardes with their Crosbowes & piercing Dartes.
The Henues with their cutting Glaves and sharpe Carbuckles.
Are not here the Lance Knights of Burgondie ?
And on the other side, a site of poore English scabs ? "

Hall : (the Constable of France, addressing the French army before Agincourt, says) :

" . . . Who saw ever so florishyng an armie within any christian region, or suche a multitude of valiaunt persones in one compaignie ? Is not here the flower of the Frenche nacion on barded horsse with sharpe speares and dedly weapons ? Are not here the bold Britons with fiery handgonnes and sharpe swerdes ? Se you not present the practised Pickardes with strong and weighty Crossebowes ? Beside these, we have the fierce Brabanders & strong Almaines with long pykes and cutting slaughmesses. And on the other side is a smal handfull of pore Englishmen " [p. 66].

Holinshed : (Omits the whole of this speech by the Constable of France as given by Hall).

This constitutes a most remarkably close parallel between the play and Hall. No less remarkable is the fact that it is entirely omitted by Holinshed. We can now say with absolute certainty that when the author of the *Famous Victories* wrote scene 15 of his

play he must have had Hall's *Chronicle* open on the table before him.* Moreover, when we remember that on four other occasions there are phrases to be found in Hall but not in Holinshed we are confronted with the probability that it was from Hall and not Holinshed that the author of the *Victories* derived all his historical information.

2. I now come to the single instance where the author has taken an episode from Holinshed that is not to be found in Hall. This occurs in the last scene of the play. In this scene the Duke of Burgundy makes a speech of 8 lines in which he swears fealty to King Henry V. It is the only speech made by Burgundy in the play, and this scene is the only one in which Burgundy appears. Now this speech is practically a verbatim transcript (somewhat condensed) of a paragraph in Holinshed headed "The oth of the Duke of Burgognie" (p. 114). Holinshed's authority (quoted by him in the margin) was the Latin history of the reign of King Henry V written by Titus Livius about 1440; and, as I have said, Hall had omitted it.

The point I wish to make now is that 20 lines (29-48) in the middle of this scene, which include these 8 lines spoken by Burgundy, are in my opinion an insertion put into the play after its original composition. At line 29 of this scene King Henry V says :

Well my good brother of France
There is one thing I must needs desire.

He goes on to demand that the French nobility should swear allegiance to him : the King of France agrees ; and Burgundy then takes the oath on Henry's sword, followed by the Dauphin. King Henry then says (line 48) :

Well my brother of France
There is one thing more I must needs require of you ;

and he goes on to demand the hand of the Princess Katherine. To this the King of France agrees ; and the scene concludes.

* In order to save space I am not giving the other four instances where phrases in the play are to be found in Hall but not in Holinshed. They may be verified, however, from the following references :

1. "The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth" (cf. *F.V.*, 1; Hall, 46; Hol., 60).
2. "Your great grandmother Izabel, Wife to King Edward the third" (cf. *F.V.*, 27; Hall, 102; Hol., omits).
3. "a Tunne of Tennis Balles" (cf. *F.V.*, 29; Hall, 57; Hol., 64).
4. "More fitter for a Carpet then the Camp" (cf. *F.V.*, 30; Hall, 56; Hol., omits).

I think if the reader were to examine this scene he would agree with me that the 20 lines I have mentioned, which include Burgundy's oath derived almost verbatim from Holinshed, bear every trace of being an insertion put in after the original composition of the play. I admit that this cannot be definitely proved ; but when we consider that these 20 lines could be cut out without in any way damaging the action of the scene ; that King Henry's two-line speech immediately following the insertion is a verbatim repetition of his two-line speech with which the insertion begins ; and that the insertion contains the only speech made by Burgundy in the play, I think it will be agreed that everything points to these 20 lines having been added after the play had been completed.

To sum up. The author of the *Famous Victories* on five occasions uses phrases to be found in Hall but not Holinshed ; and on only one occasion—which has every appearance of a subsequent insertion—he uses a phrase to be found in Holinshed but not Hall. What deduction can we draw from this ?

The deduction I suggest is that the play was written *before* the first appearance of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1578. I do not claim that this is by any means a certainty ; but I do claim that it is highly probable. From the point of view of this article the importance of this probability lies in the fact that I shall endeavour to show that the play was originally written in 1574. Such a hypothesis obviously could not be advanced as long as Holinshed's *Chronicle* was held to be the historical source. But now that we are bound to recognise Hall's *Chronicle* as the main source we can no longer assume that the play was necessarily written *after* 1578.

Section 4. *The Authorship of the Famous Victories.*

Who was the author of the *Famous Victories* ? To this question external evidence provides us with no clue. We must therefore once more fall back on internal evidence and such inferences as we can derive therefrom.

I have already said that the historical scenes follow Hall's *Chronicle* faithfully and accurately. In a few minor and quite unimportant respects—obviously slips—the author diverges slightly from Hall. For example :

1. The Duke of York is mentioned incidentally as the ambassador to France in 1415 ; in Hall this mission is undertaken by the Duke of Exeter.

2. The Duke of Exeter, as he is correctly styled by Hall, is spoken of throughout the play as the Earl of Exeter.

3. In Hall the French embassy to England are equipped with 350 horses ; in the play they have 250.

4. In Hall the English army at Agincourt is said to have numbered 2,000 horse and 13,000 foot ; in the play the numbers given are 2,000 and 12,000 respectively.

5. In the play the Lord Chief Justice is appointed Protector of England during Henry's absence on the Continent ; in Hall this task is entrusted to the Duke of Bedford.

But these differences are clearly quite accidental, and are of no real significance ; indeed, they simply serve to emphasise that our author was obviously using Hall, though he was careless as to the details.

In one important respect, however, the *Famous Victories* differs fundamentally from Hall. I propose to examine this notable divergence in considerable detail.

If we set aside for a moment the non-historical characters and total up the number of speeches put into the mouths of the English historical characters in the historical scenes we arrive at the following result :

King Henry V . .	..	..	93 speeches.
Lord Chief Justice	..	..	26 "
King Henry IV	..	..	25 "
Lord of Oxford	..	..	18 "
Earl of Exeter ..	..	..	4 "
Duke of York ..	..	..	2 "

Who is this " Lord of Oxford " ? He is mentioned twice—and twice only—by Hall :

1. The kyng was lodged [after landing in France] in a small priory with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his bretherne ; the dukes of Excetter and Yorke, the erles Marshal, Oxforde, Suffolk, Warwicke and the other lordes were lodged not farre from him (p. 62).

2. The middleward [of the English Army at Agincourt] was governed by the kyng him self with his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the erles Marshal, Oxford and Suffolke, in the which wer al the strong bilmen (p. 67).

Holinshed only mentions the Earl of Oxford once, when he employs the same wording as Hall in recounting the order of battle at Agincourt.

But who is this Earl of Oxford? There is no life of him in the *D.N.B.* G.E.C., in his *Complete Peerage*, tells us a little. He says that Richard de Vere, 11th Earl of Oxford, was born in 1386, held a command at Agincourt, and died in 1425.* Nothing else appears to be known about him.

Let us examine the part assigned to him in the *Famous Victories*. We observe in the first place that he and the Earl of Exeter are the "attendant Lords" on King Henry IV—and after his death King Henry V—throughout the play. This is in complete defiance of Hall, who, on historically accurate grounds, makes Exeter, York, and Westmorland the principal counsellors to both Kings. In the second place we observe that Oxford's rôle in the *Famous Victories* is that of principal adviser and lieutenant to the King; Exeter's place in this respect—as the length of his part shows—being quite definitely a secondary one. Oxford's share in the action of the play may be summarised as follows:

1. He and Exeter appeal to Henry IV to deal leniently with Prince Hal when the latter has been arrested and sent to prison. This does not appear in Hall. [*F.V.*, 11.]

2. He arranges the reconciliation interview between the King and the Prince. This does not appear in Hall. [*F.V.*, 19.]

3. After the Archbishop of Canterbury has advised Henry V to conquer Scotland before France, Oxford urges the conquest of France first—"he that will Scotland win must first with France begin." In Hall it is Exeter who advances the same arguments as those put into the mouth of Oxford in the play. [*F.V.*, 28; Hall, 55.]

4. The evening before Agincourt Oxford asks the King to give him command of the Vanguard in the battle. The King tells him that this is already promised to the Duke of York. Hall merely says that King Henry

"appointed a vawarde, of which he made capitayn Edward duke of Yorke whiche of a haute courage had of the Kyng required and obtained that office." [*F.V.*, 36; Hall, 67.]

5. On the morning of the battle Oxford brings information as to the French strength to King Henry. There is no similar incident in Hall. [*F.V.*, 39.]

6. Later in the same morning, when King Henry orders the archers to plant sharpened stakes in the ground in order to break the French cavalry charge, the Earl of Oxford asks to be put in charge of this measure. The King replies: "With all my heart, my good Lord of Oxford." Hall,

* G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (p. clvii), states that the 11th Earl of Oxford was elected K.G. vice Edward Duke of York (killed at Agincourt), and that he died February 15, 1516/7, when his vacant stall was occupied by Sir John Blount. I think this is more likely to be the correct date of his death; but in any case it does not affect the argument here.

while alluding to the palisade of stakes, does not say who organised it. [*F.V.*, 41; Hall, 72.]

It is evident from the above that the author of the *Famous Victories*, whoever he may have been, wrote up the 11th Earl of Oxford in no uncertain way and with a complete disregard of history. It is especially noteworthy that the organisation of the palisade of stakes, that probably did more to win the battle than anything else, is definitely handed over to Lord Oxford. This was quite within the bounds of poetic licence, because Hall does not ascribe this task to any particular individual. Our unknown author must clearly have been a whole-hearted supporter of the House of Oxford.

Turning now from the historical to the non-historical portion of the play, we find in scenes 1 and 4 an incident recounted in considerable detail. On May 20th in "the fourteen yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King Henry the fourth" Prince Hal and three of his wild companions—Sir John Oldcastle, Ned, and Tom—laid an ambush at Gad's Hill in Kent, which lies astride the highway between Gravesend and Rochester. Their victims, who were relieved of £1000, were two of King Henry IV's Receivers on their way to the Exchequer. This escapade was carried out in disguise, but the Prince's share in it is evidently only a thinly veiled secret because in scene 2 an artizan in discussing the Prince says :

I heare say, he is a toward young Prince,
For if he meet any by the hieway,
He will not let to talke with him,
I dare not call him theefe, but he is one of these taking fellows.

Neither Hall nor Holinshed gives the slightest clue that might have served as a basis for this episode. And yet if we are to understand that the incident was purely imaginary it must be admitted that the circumstantial details are very curious. The explicit references to Gad's Hill and May 20th suggest a foundation on fact.

Why, we may ask, did the author choose Gad's Hill? All the remaining scenes in the play—with the exception of those in France—are either in London or the Palace at Westminster. Surely it would have been more natural, assuming the scene to have been pure invention, to have located the ambush just outside London instead of thirty or forty miles away?

Then, again, consider the date. May 20th in the 14th year of King Henry IV seems to me to be altogether too explicit to be satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis of pure invention. It is the only

date mentioned in the play, although if the author had had a weakness for chronology he would have found ample scope to gratify it from Hall's *Chronicles*. Even more curious, however, is the fact that no such date exists! The fourteenth year of King Henry IV commenced on September 30, 1412, and ended with the King's death on March 20, 1413!

The solution I offer is that the incident in the play was based on a real historical incident, but that this incident took place not in the reign of Henry IV but that of Elizabeth. Such an incident, as I shall show, occurred in 1573; and I suggest that our author transferred it bodily—details and all—to the reign of Henry IV, and used it as his opening scene in the *Famous Victories*.

Our sole knowledge of this incident is derived from the following letter:

Addressed: To the Righte honourable the Lorde burleyge L. tresorer of england.

Endorsed (in Lord Burghley's handwriting): Maii 1573. fafit wotton. frō Gravisēd. 70.

The dutyful regard we owe to your honor, and the due consyderatyō we have in this case, dothe staye us to addresse oure cōplaynte to any but to your Lordshyp/ because the matter dothe neare touche the honor of my late good L. and mr * of whom publykely to heare complaynte (of ragynge deamennore) would greave your honor and my sealf to make it if ther were any other meanes for oure securityte/ So it is Ryghte honorable wootton and my sealf, rydyng peasably by the hyghe way, from gravesend to rochester had thre calyvers charged with bulletes dyscharged at us by thre of my L. of oxenfordes men/ dauye wykyns Jhon hannam and deny the frenche man whoe lay prevylye in a diche Awaytinge oure cummyng/ wyth full intente to murder hus yet not wythstanding they all dyscharyng uppon us (so neare that my saddell havynge the gerthes broke fell with my sealf from the horse and a bullet wythein halfe a foote of me) hit plesed god to delyver us from that determyned myschefe whereuppon they mounted one horsebacke and fled towards London wythe all possyble speade/ the cōsyderatyōn hereof dothe warne us to provyde for oure safty/ insomuch we playnely see oure lyves are soughte for/ otherwyse the fornaymd ptyes would not have pursued us from London/ who in lyke maner yesterday besett oure lodgyng/ for viche cause and to preserve my lordes favor in tyme we lefte the cytty an chose the cuntry for oure safeguard/ where we find oure sealvs in no lesse pryll of spoyle then before and now seynge that neyther cytty nor cuntrey is a

* Faunt had at one time been in Lord Oxford's employ, as the following extract from *Walsingham's Diary* (Camden Society, 1870) shows: "Ao 1571. Novembre. Wednesday 8. Tow of my lord of Oxfordes men came out of England, Mr Fant and Mr Clapton, by whom I receaved lettres from my Lord of Burghley."

sufficyente ptection/ from theyre malyce we humbly appeale to your honor/ whom we never knue but a mayntener of Justyce and punysher of abuses or ells generally to the counsell as your honor lyketh best/ they lawe hath geven us greate advantage of them viche surely we would pursue to the utermost of hit weare it not in respecte of oure late noble lord and mr (who withe pdon be hit spokene) is to be thoughte as y procurer of that wiche is done/ and so to conclude ryghte honorable if we have offended the Lawes of the realme or oure late noble lord as (viche we have not) we remayne here in gravesend to abyde condygne punyshemēte from whence we dare not depte befor we be assured of oure securytye and order taken for them/ Thus beseeching god to pserve your honor to your hartes desyr we leave to truble your honor from gravesende this presente thursday/

by your honors ever to commāde

WYLLM FFAWNT. JOHN WOTTON.*

If we consider the details of this episode we find that they closely resemble those in the *Famous Victories*. The ambushers of Faunt and Wotton are three in number; but there is an unmistakable reference to "our late noble Lord and Master [*i.e.* Lord Oxford] who with pardon be it spoken is to be thought as the procurer of that which is done." It is true that murder and not robbery was the object—or at any rate what Faunt and Wotton conceived to have been the object—of the 1573 affair. But it is perhaps natural that they should exaggerate the danger they were in. Finally, Faunt and Wotton as servants of Lord Treasurer Burghley may well have been engaged on business connected with the Exchequer.

Next as regards the date and place. The latter is of course identical with the place in the play—the road from Gravesend to Rochester crossing Gad's Hill. The date is not quite so explicit. We know from Lord Burghley's endorsement the incident happened in May; and we know that Faunt and Wotton wrote the letter on a Thursday. In it they say they were first attacked "yesterday" [*i.e.* Wednesday] in London; and a second attack was delivered the following day between Gravesend and Rochester. Is it entirely coincidence that in May 1573 the 20th fell upon a Wednesday?

It seems to me that coincidence, even admitting the proverbial length of its arm, cannot provide a satisfactory explanation to all these parallels. The suggestion I offer is that the *Famous Victories*

* S.P. Dom. Eliz. 91. 36. The first signature is very badly written and looks more like "ffawitt"; but in view of Lord Burghley's endorsement I expect it is really meant for "ffawnt." I cannot account for the "70" in the endorsement—which is on a separate line and has nothing to do with the date—unless it is a note for filing purposes.

was written fairly soon after May 1573, and that the author definitely had in mind the Faunt and Wotton episode when he constructed the first few scenes of his plot.*

We now come back to the question I propounded at the beginning of this section. Who was the author? I suggest it was probably the Earl of Oxford himself. I can hardly conceive of anybody else not only making use of the Gad's Hill incident—which was so personally connected with the Earl—but also writing up one of his ancestors in order to show him, in defiance of history, to have been the chief warrior-courtier of King Henry V. Lord Oxford's fame in after years as a writer of comedies was more than once commented on by his contemporaries; and the *Famous Victories* shows all the signs of immaturity that one would expect from a youth of twenty-three, which was Oxford's age in 1573.

* Mr. A. W. Pollard has very kindly drawn my attention to the following paragraph which occurs in the first edition of Stow's *Chronicles* (1580):

"... Whilst his father [*i.e.* King Henry IV] lived, beyng accompanied wt some of his yong Lords & gentlemen, he [*i.e.* Prince Hal] wold waite in disguised aray for his owne receyvers, and distresse them of theyr money: and sometimes at such enterprises both he and his company wer surely beaten: and when his receivers made to him their complaints, how they were robbed in their comming unto him, he wold give them discharge of so much money as they had lost, and besides that, they should not depart from him without great rewards for their trouble and vexation, especially they should be rewarded that best hadde receyved the greatest & most strokes. But after the decease of his father, was never any youth, or wildnes, that might have place in him, but all his actes were sodainly chaunged into gravitie and discreation . . ." (p. 583).

Now if we accept this as the source on which the author of the *Famous Victories* based his Gad's Hill episode it must be admitted that my previous arguments dating the play before 1578 are upset. But are we justified in claiming this as a source? Personally I am inclined to think not. Stow's account is very vague, and he makes no mention of the many circumstantial details—*e.g.* numbers engaged, place, date—that go to make up the incident in the play. Stow, moreover, based his history on three authorities—Titus Livius, Thomas of Walsingham, and Enguerrand de Monstrelet—which are cited in the margin alongside most of his statements. But in this instance he gives no authority. Is it not possible that he is merely recording a well-known oral tradition? Neither Hall nor Holinshed mention the story, although they had access to the same sources used by Stow. If it was a tradition it would have been just as familiar to the author of the *Famous Victories*, who may have used it as the general basis, and the Faunt and Wotton adventure as the circumstantial source, when he wrote his play.

It may be added that, save in this possible respect, the *Famous Victories* owes nothing to Stow. Stow does not mention the tennis balls incident, the speech of the Constable of France before Agincourt, the Duke of York being given command of the vanguard, and many other items common both to the play and Hall. Moreover, Stow's account of the battle is entirely different from that given by Hall, and the play follows Hall closely. It seems to me, therefore, much more likely that an oral tradition about Prince Hal's robberies was the common source used both by Stow and the author of the *Victories*; and it by no means follows that the play was necessarily written after the publication of Stow's *Chronicles* in 1580.

But I should like to qualify this suggestion that Lord Oxford may have been the author of the *Famous Victories* :

1. A play, unlike a book which is published direct from the author's manuscript, normally undergoes an intervening period during which it is being acted. In the case of the *Famous Victories*—if my arguments are valid—this period was over twenty years. Now it is most unlikely that the printed version we possess is exactly the same as the original version that was written, as I believe, in the 'seventies. Twenty years or so of intermittent acting would naturally lead to innumerable alterations, omissions, and insertions ; and it is reasonable to assume that in 1598 Thomas Creede would have published a *later* and perhaps corrupt version rather than an *earlier* one.

2. Lord Oxford did not take a company of actors under his patronage until 1580. But I do not believe that the first version of the *Famous Victories* was necessarily written for a professional company. Professional actors—and with them I class the Choir Boys of the Chapel Royal, Paul's and Westminster—by no means had a monopoly of stage performances during the fifteen-seventies. There is little doubt that many dramatic entertainments were given at Court by amateurs. When the Queen visited the Universities, for example, she was invariably entertained by an amateur dramatic performance. The law students of Gray's Inn—where Lord Oxford studied in 1567—are known to have frequently indulged in this pastime. It may be argued that we know next to nothing about such performances, whereas our knowledge of professional troupes is far greater. This is not only true but perfectly natural. Professionals, unlike amateurs, required payment ; payments were recorded in account books ; and account books, then as now, were carefully preserved. Let any student of Elizabethan stage history consider for a moment what the position would be if the Chamber Account Books—so admirably transcribed by Sir Edmund Chambers in his *Elizabethan Stage*—had not come down to us. I think he would readily agree that our knowledge as to the details of professional actors in the fifteen-seventies would be very meagre indeed.

This is exactly what has happened in the case of amateur performances at Court. In the absence of any record in account books we are compelled to fall back on casual references in private letters. We may safely guess that only a small proportion of the many letters that must have been written have survived. Very few Elizabethans

kept their correspondence—Lord Burghley, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Henry Sidney being notable exceptions. It is to the second of these that we owe an all too brief account of an amateur performance at Court in 1579. Lord Shrewsbury at the time was acting as custodian of the Queen of Scots in the Midlands; and the writer of the letter, his second son, Gilbert Talbot, was then aged twenty and living at the Court:

It is but vain to trouble your Lordship with such shows as were showed before Her Majesty this Shrovetide at night. The chiefest was a device presented by the persons of the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Surrey, the Lords Thomas Howard and Windsor. The device was prettier than it happened to have been performed; but the best of it, and I think the best liked, was two rich jewels which were presented to Her Majesty by the two Earls.*

I see no reason to suppose that this was the only occasion on which Lord Oxford went in for amateur theatricals; and, remembering his future fame as a playwright, I see no reason to suppose that in his youth he did not write this and other "devices" for himself and his friends to act in. May not the *Famous Victories*, which by the 'nineties had become a stage play acted in the public theatres, have grown out of a "device" originally written by Lord Oxford for performance at Court?

Section 5. *The Earl of Oxford and Prince Hal.*

Argument: That Lord Oxford wrote the *Famous Victories* in its original form as a Court masque in the last months of 1574; that he presented it before the Queen between Christmas and the New Year; and that in it he pointed to a moral for Her Majesty's consideration.

Note.—The bulk of this section is based on historical authority; but I have placed certain paragraphs containing controversial matter between square brackets.

Ever since Lord Oxford had come of age in 1571 he had constantly begged his father-in-law and guardian Lord Burghley to obtain permission for him to travel abroad. Lord Burghley's Calvinistic leanings made him a strong opponent of foreign travel; and for three years Oxford's wish was denied him. But in 1574 an event occurred which had far-reaching results.

Early in July Lord Burghley was expecting the Earl and Countess of Oxford, who were then in the country, to rejoin the Court which

* Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, 22.

had arrived at Richmond on June 30. Suddenly the most disconcerting news reached him. His son-in-law, without having permission to leave England, had quietly slipped away overseas and was last heard of on his way to Brussels *via* Bruges. At once rumour began to get busy. Lord Oxford, it was whispered, had turned traitor; he had gone to join the rebel Earl of Westmorland, who had been in exile since the abortive rising in 1569; Lord Seymour had accompanied him, and Lord Southampton had fled to Spain; a new insurrection was about to break out.*

Black as things looked, Lord Burghley refused to believe the worst. He was confident of Oxford's loyalty to the Queen:

Howsoever my Lord of Oxford be for his own part (in) matters of thrift inconsiderate [he wrote on July 15th to his son-in-law's best friend Lord Chamberlain Sussex], I dare avow him to be resolute in dutifulness to the Queen and his country.†

Burghley's faith was not misplaced. Towards the end of the month Oxford returned to England as suddenly as he had left. On the 29th Lord Burghley and his daughter the Countess of Oxford met the Earl in London, and the following day all three went down together to Theobalds.‡

Meanwhile, on July 15, the Queen and the Court had set out on a Progress to the West Country. Her Majesty, when she heard of Lord Oxford's "contempt" in going overseas without licence, was furious. At length, softened by the intercessions of Lord Chamberlain Sussex and Master Secretary Walsingham, she yielded. And on August 1 Walsingham was able to write to Burghley as follows:

I find Her Majesty graciously inclined towards the Earl of Oxford, whose peace I think will be both easily and speedily made; for that Her Majesty doth conceive that his evidence in his return hath (countered?) the contempt of his departure.§

Lord Burghley gratefully acknowledged Walsingham's good offices in a long letter written to him on the 3rd. He tells him that Oxford has already started out to join the Progress and crave the Queen's forgiveness; and concludes with the following request:

I beseeche you to impart such parts of this my scriblyng wt my LL of ye Consell wt whom you shall pceave hir Māty will have to deale in this

* See my *Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, pp. 93, 94.

† *Ibid.*, p. 94.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 95. Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, was one of Burghley's country seats.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

case, that not only they will favorably reprehend hȳ for his fault, but frankly and liberally comfort hym for his amēds made, both in his behavior beyōd seas and in his retorning as he hath doone, and besyde this yt they will be sutors to hir Māty for hym, as noble mē for a noble mā, and so bynd hym in honor, to be indetted w^t good will to them heraft, as in dede I know sōe of them hath gyven hym good occasiō, though he hath bene otherwise seduced by such, as regarded nothing his honor nor well doȳg, whereof I pceave he now acknowledgeth sōe experience to his chardg, and I trust will be more ware of such sycophants and parasites.*

On the 5th the Earl made his peace with the Queen; and he remained with the Progress until September 15, when the Court had reached Farnham on its homeward journey. He spent the next fortnight with his father-in-law at Theobalds. During October, and probably November and December, he was in attendance on Her Majesty at Hampton Court.†

[On Christmas Day the Court theatrical season commenced. I suggest that sometime during the preceding three months he had written the *Famous Victories* and that he now presented it before the Queen. In it he portrayed himself—as Prince Hal—partaking in the Gad's Hill escapade of 1573; while the Prince's repentance, reconciliation with the King, and subsequent valiant life, was no doubt intended to point the obvious moral to his Royal Mistress.]

In January 1574/5 he received his long-wished-for leave to travel on the Continent. His licence was signed by the Queen in the first week of the month; and, fearful no doubt lest the capricious Elizabeth should change her mind and cancel it, he hurriedly left England on the 7th.‡

We next hear of him in Paris on March 6, when he was presented to the King and Queen of France by Dr. Valentine Dale, the English resident ambassador. Lord Oxford, despite his headstrong reputation, had evidently impressed Dr. Dale very favourably, for in a letter written to Lord Burghley on March 23 the ambassador says:

I will assure your Lordship unfeignedly my Lord of Oxford used himself as orderly and moderately as might be desired, and with great

* S.P. Dom. Eliz. 98. 2. Compare this with the wild companions who led Prince Hal astray; and the two Lords in the *Famous Victories* who pleaded on his behalf with King Henry IV.

† *Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, pp. 97, 117.

‡ Public Record Office, E. 403/157 (1). "Licenses to pass overseas, 1573-1578." The entry referring to Lord Oxford reads: "The Earl of Oxford: for one year: January 1574[-5]." Is it not possible that the promise of future good behaviour, implied in the *Famous Victories*, induced Her Majesty to grant the long-refused request?

commendation, neither is there any appearance of the likelihood of any other.*

While in Paris the Earl had had his portrait painted, and he sent it as a present to his wife on March 17. This portrait is probably the one now in the possession of the Duke of Portland, a reproduction of which appears as the frontispiece of my *Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*. The picture bears the inscription "Ætatis suæ 25, 1575," and although it cannot be identified for certain with the portrait sent to the Countess of Oxford from Paris, it seems unlikely that he would have gone to the trouble of having himself painted twice in the same year.

Dr. Dale also mentions this portrait in another letter written to Lord Burghley :

... as yor L. meaning can not but be observed. yf the skill of this paynter here be liked I suppose he would be enduced to cum thither [*i.e.* England] for he is a fleming and liketh not over well of his entretaynment here, yt seameth to us he hath don my L. Oxford well. my L. devise is verie propre wittie and significant/ And thus I besecche almightie god long to preserve yor Lordship in good helth. from Paris the xxvith of March. 1575.

yor Lordships most humble

VALEN DALE.†

The sentence about Lord Oxford's "device" deserves close attention. At first I was inclined to think it referred to the picture, but the adjectives "proper, witty, and significant" seem wholly inapplicable to a portrait. Moreover, the word "device" in Elizabethan days was, as far as I know, used to denote two things only :

- (a) A masque, or charade.
- (b) A motto, coat-of-arms, or some similar blazon painted on a shield which was borne in a tournament.

Now there is nothing resembling a "device"—as defined above—painted on the picture. But was Dr. Dale necessarily referring to the picture? It may be argued that if he were referring to anything else he would have started a new paragraph. But Elizabethan letters—particularly those written by or dictated to a clerk as this one was—

* *Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, pp. 101, 117.

† S.P. Foreign, 133. 53. Unfortunately Lord Oxford's portrait is not signed, so I have not been able to identify the Flemish artist.

are seldom properly paragraphed. I therefore offer an alternative solution :

[When Lord Oxford went to Paris he took with him the manuscript of the *Famous Victories*. There was evidently a mutual attraction between the young Earl and Dale, who was accordingly given the manuscript to read. He did so, was impressed, and when he wrote to Lord Burghley described it as "proper" (*i.e.* good or notable), "witty" (thinking of the comic scenes), and "significant" (thinking of the parallel between Lord Oxford and Prince Hal). I admit this is purely conjectural ; but it seems to me to offer a possible solution for Lord Oxford's "device" that was "proper, witty, and significant." Nevertheless it must be admitted that Dr. Dale may equally well have been referring to an "impresa" that Oxford may have taken with him on his travels.]

There is one last point I should like to touch on. When and how did the Queen's company of players become possessed of the *Famous Victories*? We know they acted it between 1583 and 1588 ; and I offer the following solution. In 1580 Lord Oxford took over the patronage of the Earl of Warwick's company of actors. On December 26, 1583 the newly formed Queen's company—which we know had absorbed at least one of Lord Oxford's leading actors—gave their first performance at Court. On January 1, 1584 Oxford's men played before the Queen ; and on March 3 both Oxford's and the Queen's companies gave a Court performance—the obvious inference being that they were amalgamated for the purpose. From this date onwards nothing more is heard of Oxford's troupe at Court, but the Queen's company continued to act there repeatedly for many years. It would be quite natural to find Lord Oxford's company in possession of a play written by their patron ; and equally natural to find them passing on this play to the company which absorbed and replaced them.

Conclusion.

I should like to add one word as to the bearing all this has on the place of the *Famous Victories* in Elizabethan dramatic literature. Almost every critic that I have read on this subject has used the epithet "worthless" when discussing the play. The reason for this is that it is invariably compared with Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and *V* trilogy, which was written in the late 'nineties. Is this criticism altogether fair ?

Scholarship to-day recognises three main landmarks in the transition from the mediæval miracle play to the late sixteenth-century comedy. These are *Ralph Roister Doister* (c. 1553); *Cambyeses* (c. 1569); and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (c. 1575). Is it not among these that the *Famous Victories* really belongs? Here at least we can judge it not as the contemporary but as the forerunner by over twenty years of the irresistible fat knight and his droll companions.

And what of the author? I do not for a moment suggest that Lord Oxford wrote the play in the version that Thomas Creede printed in 1598. But I think that it is quite possible that he wrote—and perhaps acted in—a Court masque in 1574; that this masque was afterwards modified to meet the requirements of the public stage by the Queen's men in the 'eighties; and that in the 'nineties Shakespeare based upon it his famous trilogy. If so we find Lord Oxford in his youth as a pioneer—the chief, perhaps—who helped to mould the form of the Elizabethan comedy. Before his death Elizabethan drama had passed its hey-day. During his lifetime Shakespeare's immortal characters—Falstaff, Malvolio, Hamlet, and a host of others—had made their first bow on an English stage. For twenty-four years he patronised a company of actors. When he was in his prime, in 1589, the author of the *Arte of English Poesie* wrote:

And in Her Majesty's time that now is are sprung up another crew of Courtly makers, Noblemen and Gentlemen of Her Majesty's own servants, who have written excellently well as it would appear if their doings could be found out and made public with the rest, of which number is first that noble gentleman Edward Earl of Oxford.

Have our modern text-books done him justice?

A NOTE ON DONNE'S PUNCTUATION

BY EVELYN M. SIMPSON

IN his recent *Introduction to Bibliography* (1927) Dr. McKerrow makes a statement about the punctuation of Elizabethan manuscripts which seems to require some slight modification. He states that there is "very little evidence that many authors exercised any care about it [punctuation] whatever." "Such punctuation as is to be found in ordinary MSS. of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is indeed most erratic and seldom goes beyond full stops at the end of most of the sentences and some indication of the *cæsura* in lines of verse." * After quoting the example of Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, he points out that much work remains to be done on the subject of punctuation, and concludes by saying, "So far the evidence seems to be that such rules as there were existed chiefly among the printers, and it is quite possible that they varied from house to house, as indeed they do still."

It is only by the examination of a large number of Elizabethan MSS. that we can hope to reach a definite conclusion on the vexed question of punctuation. The important Bodleian MS. of Book V. of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* shows that Hooker was careful in his punctuation, and that the printer, while freely modifying spelling, treated the punctuation with respect.† The manuscripts of Donne's works show that Donne also was scrupulous about punctuation, and that in most of his books it is the author rather than the printer who must be held responsible.

A number of Donne's works are extant in manuscripts which range

* *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

† This manuscript (Bodl. Add. MS. C. 165) is one of the few surviving examples of printer's copy in the sixteenth century. It is not autograph, but it has been annotated by Hooker, who worked over it making corrections and additions. A full account of it is given by P. Simpson, "Proof-Reading by English Authors of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 20-23.

in date from about 1595 to 1635. Nearly forty early MSS. of the poems are in existence; ten MSS. of the *Paradoxes and Problems* are known to the present writer; there are MS. versions of a certain number of sermons; and the Bodleian MS. of *Biathanatos* is an authoritative one with Donne's annotations. The importance of this large body of manuscript lies in the fact that it is earlier than the printed texts of Donne's work. The majority of Donne's poems were printed for the first time in 1633, two years after his death. Most of the *Paradoxes and Problems* were also first printed in 1633, though some did not appear till 1652, and others have only recently been published. *Biathanatos* was not published till 1647.

If Donne did not punctuate his own work, except for an occasional full stop, his copyists would either imitate his lack of punctuation, or each scribe would be at liberty to introduce variations of his own. The elaborate and beautiful punctuation of *Biathanatos* and of the *Poems* of 1633 would be due to the printers alone, and we should find no resemblance to it in the manuscripts. But this is not the case. The manuscript of *Biathanatos*, annotated and authorised by Donne, is most carefully punctuated. The manuscripts of the poems and paradoxes vary in their punctuation, as they do in the soundness of their text, but it is possible to obtain from the good manuscripts a very fair system of punctuation. A careful examination of the extant manuscripts of Donne leads inevitably to the conclusion that punctuation, far from being left entirely to the printer, was a matter of concern to the author, and also to some extent to his copyists, except to those who cared nothing about his meaning.

The Bodleian MS. of *Biathanatos* was sent by Donne himself to his friend Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The manuscript is not autograph, but it has been annotated by Donne, and it contains on its fly-leaf an autograph letter from Donne to Herbert. I print this letter below, so that readers may compare it with the version published by Donne's son in *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651), pp. 20-21. A comparison will show that the printer of 1651 has freely modernised Donne's spelling, and has replaced many of his capital letters by minuscules, but that he has preserved the punctuation almost intact. The chief alteration he has made is to change one full stop of Donne's into a semicolon, and since Donne followed the stop by "for" with a minuscule, it is clear that some change was necessary. There are one or two other trifling changes in the direction of normalisation, but it is clear that Donne was

extremely careful in his punctuation, and also that the printer took reasonable care to follow his copy in this point.

To the Noblest knight
S^r Edward Herbert.

S^r

I make account that thys Booke hath inough perform'd y^t w^{ch} yt undertooke, both by Argument and Example. Itt shall therefore the lesse neede to bee yttselfe another Example of y^e Doctrine. Itt shall not therefore kyll yttselfe; that ys, not bury itselfe. for if ytt should do so, those reasons by w^{ch} that Act should bee defended or excusd, were also lost w^t ytt. Since ytt ys content to liue, ytt cannot chuse a wholsomer ayre then yo^r Library, where Autors of all complexions are preserud. If any of them grudge thys Booke a roome, and suspect ytt of new, or dangerous Doctrine, yo^r, who know us all, can best Moderate. To those Reasons, w^{ch} I know yo^r Loue to mee wyll make in my fauor, and discharge, yo^r may add thys, That though thys Doctrine hath not beene taught nor defended by writers, yet they, most of any sorte of Men in the world, haue practis'd ytt.

yo^r uery true and earnest frinde, and
Seruant and Louer

J: Donne.

The manuscript of *Biathanatos* is an extremely interesting one.* Though it is undated, it must be thirty to thirty-five years older than the first printed edition, which did not appear till 1647.† The original draft of the book probably belongs to the years 1608–1609, and in 1619 Donne described it to Sir Robert Ker as “written many years since.” “Publish it not, but yet burn it not,” were his instructions to his friend.‡ When the younger Donne, some years after his father's death, sent the book to the press, he did not use the Bodleian MS., which had been presented to the Library by Lord Herbert in 1642, but the copy used by the printer must have been punctuated in substantially the same manner, as a collation of the printed text will show.

It is difficult to choose passages for a short article, since the evidence is cumulative, and the whole book must be read in order to appreciate fully the delicacy of Donne's punctuation and the

* See the account of it in my *Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, pp. 145–9.

† The first issue is undated, but it was entered on the Stationers' Register on September 25, 1646, and George Thomason records that he bought his copy December 2, 1647.

‡ *Letters to Seuerall Persons of Honour* (1651), p. 22.

considerable care bestowed on it by the printer. I have taken the first two paragraphs of the preface for my first example.

(Bodl. MS. e Musaeo 131, pp. 1, 2.)

Beza, A man as eminent and illustrious, in the glory, and noone of Learning, as others were in the dawning, & morning, when any, the least sparkle was notorious, confesseth of himselfe, that onely for the anguish of a skurfe, w^h ouer ran his head, he had once drown'd himselfe, from the Millers bridge in Paris, if his Vncle, by chance, had not then come that way. I haue often such a sickly inclination. And, whether it bee, because I had my first breeding, and conversation w^h men of a suppress'd and afflicted Religion, accustomed to the despite of death, and hungry of an imagin'd Martyrdome, or that the common Enemy find y^t dore worst lock'd against him, in mee, Or that there be a perplexity, and flexibility in the doctrine it selfe, or because my Conscience euer assures me, that no rebellious grudging at Gods giufts, nor other sin-full concurrence accompanys these thoughts in me, Or that a braue scorne, or that a faint cowardlynesse beget it, whensoever my affliction assayles me, me thinks I haue the keyes of my prison in myne owne hand, and no remedy presents it selfe so soone to my heart, as mine owne sword. Often Meditation of this, hath wonne me to a charitable interpretation of theyr Action, who dye so: and prouok'd me alittle to watch, & exagitate theyr reasons, w^h pronounce so peremptory iudgements vppon y^m. A devout, & godly man hath guided vs well, & rectified our vncharitableness in such cases, by this remembrance [Scis Lapsū &c. Thou knowest this mans fall, but thou knowest not his wrastling; w^h perchance was such, that almost his very fall is iustified, & accepted of God] For to this end sayth one [God hath appoynted vs tentations, that we might have some excuse for o^r sinnes, when he calls vs to accompt]

In this passage the printed text and the manuscript show a remarkably close agreement.* There can be no question here of the punctuation having its origin in the printing-house. Donne evidently punctuated his original draft with the greatest care, and saw to it that the transcripts which he sent to his friends conformed to their pattern in this particular respect. The printer, about thirty-five years later, treated the punctuation with much respect. He modernised the spelling here and there (*upon* for *vppon*, *account* for *accompt*), and there are one or two variations in the text, e.g. *full glory* for *glory*, *any affliction* for *my affliction*. He omitted a few of Donne's commas, which seemed redundant to him, no doubt, as they do to modern taste, and on the other hand he replaced several

* The printed text will be found on pp. 17-18 of *Biathanatos*. Other passages which could be quoted as examples if space permitted will be found on pp. 6, 7, 252, 253 of the Bodleian MS. (*Biathanatos*, pp. 21, 213, 214).

commas by semi-colons in the long sentence beginning "And, whether it be . . ." and ending "as mine own sword." None of these alterations in punctuation affects the sense of the passage, and the general agreement is much more striking than the few minor changes. The printer has reproduced Donne's use of square brackets to mark a quotation, while at the same time adopting the usual device of printing the quotation in italics.*

The punctuation of the MSS. of Donne's poems and of the paradoxes and problems varies very widely. None of these is autograph, and Professor Grierson has shown that the *Poems* of 1633 must have been printed from a better manuscript than any now extant. Many of the copyists were shockingly careless; their punctuation was erratic, and their text full of blunders. But there are a number of good MSS. which furnish us with a punctuation which is fairly satisfactory, though their numerous variations in small points show that much of the fine shading of Donne's punctuation has been lost, as we might expect, in the process of transmission.

The Westmoreland MS. owned by the late Sir Edmund Gosse may be taken as an example of the good manuscripts. I quote from it part of *Holy Sonnet XVIII*, for which it is the sole authority.† Professor Grierson in his edition found it necessary to make only one change in the punctuation—he introduced a mark of exclamation after "What" in l. 2 (*Poems*, i. 330).

Show me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and cleare.
What is it She, which on the other shore
Goes richly painted? or which rob'd and tore
Laments and mournes in Germany and here?
Sleepes she a thousand, then peepes vp one yeare?
Is she selfe truth and errs? now new, now, outwore?
Doth she, and did she, and shall she evermore
On one, on seauen, or on no hill appeare?
Dwells she with vs, or like adventuring knights
First trauaile we to seeke and then make Loue?

The punctuation of the *Paradoxes and Problems* in the O'Flaherty MS. (OF.) is particularly good.‡ It would, I believe, bear comparison favourably with that of many manuscripts of the present

* This use of square brackets together with italics to mark a quotation is found also in Donne's *Essays in Divinity*, printed in 1651 by a different printer. Probably here also the square brackets are derived from Donne's own manuscript.

† I am indebted to the late Sir Edmund for permitting me to examine the manuscript.

‡ For an account of this MS. see Grierson, *Poems*, ii. xcvi-xcix, and my article "Two Manuscripts of Donne's Paradoxes and Problems," *R.E.S.*, III, pp. 134-5. Another MS. which contains a well-punctuated text of the *Paradoxes* is that in Trinity College, Dublin.

day. A collation of the following passage, taken from the paradox "That a wise man is knowne by much laughing," with the text of the *Juvenilia* of 1633 shows that the punctuation of *O'F.* (and of a number of other MSS. which agree with it) in one sentence at least must represent Donne's original draft, the meaning of which has been obscured in the printed text by the printer's misplacement of a comma.

(*O'F.*, pp. 403-4. *Juvenilia*, Sig. E2.)

A foole, if hee come to a Princes court and see a gay man leaning at the wall, so glittering, so paynted in many colours, that hee is hardly discerned from one of the pictures in the Arras hangings, his Body, like an Iron-bound chest,* girt in, and thicke ribbd with brode gold laces, may, and comonly doth, envy him. But Alas shall a wise man (that may not only not envye, but not pittie this monster) doe nothing? Yes, Let him laugh. And if one of those hot colerike firebrandes w^{ch} nourish themselues by quarrelling and kindling others, spitt vpon a foole but one sparke of disgrace, Hee, like a thatchd house quickly burning, may bee angry. But the wise man, as cold as a Salamander, may not onely not bee angry with him, but not bee sorry for him. Therefore let him laugh. So shall hee bee knowne to bee a man that hee can laugh, a wise man that hee knowes at what to laugh, and a valiant man that hee dares laugh, for who laughs is iustly reputed more wise then at whome it is laughed.

From the above examples it will be clear that Donne punctuated his work carefully and consistently, and that some at least of his copyists took pains to reproduce his punctuation. When the printer had an authoritative manuscript, such as that of *Biathanatos*, before him, he followed Donne's punctuation closely, though not with absolute uniformity. Such changes as he made were generally intended to make the punctuation conform to the usage of the middle of the seventeenth century.

* The two editions of 1633 and the *Paradoxes, Problemes* of 1652 all make nonsense of this sentence by reading "one of the pictures in the Arras, hanging his body like an Iron-bound-chest." The comma is rightly placed in all the MSS. which I have examined (except in *P* which omits it altogether). Two other MSS. agree with *O'F.* in reading "Arras hangings, his," while three read "Arras hanging, his."

SEARCHING LOCAL RECORDS

BY DOROTHY M. MEADS

(Continued from p. 190)

It is clear that the researcher will seldom be able to visit a local municipal repository fore-armed with exact information as to its contents. Often information when it exists—and municipal records are frequently classified—is vague and unreliable, having been given by an ignorant or careless custodian.

Last year the writer obtained permission to examine the records of a certain town, one of the most notorious "rotten" boroughs in history, with a school and charities of great antiquity. It was disfranchised in the nineteenth century, but has retained its mayor, corporation, and town hall. It returned answers to the queries of the Commissioners in 1837, to the Committee in 1902, and in 1919. In these answers an assurance was given that the records were calendared, and that the rooms which housed them were "well lighted and otherwise adapted for the use of those who may wish to consult them." A first visit revealed the fact that there was no such accommodation, the records having to be brought into an office where clerks were working, although they very kindly sought other rooms. On the second visit, a chilly 'Mayor's Parlour' was turned into a temporary research room, in which, in the course of the morning, the local Distress Committee held a meeting, the humour of which was disastrous to the record-searching. The first batch of records presented for inspection (and brought up several flights of narrow wooden stairs by a clerk who looked too frail for his burden) turned out to be a pile of manuscript books, left to the town by the local antiquarian who had compiled its history in 1828. These were of value in one respect. They contained transcripts of documents the originals of which cannot now be found. These were examined largely out of curiosity, then a descent was made of the wooden stairs to a friendly clerk. After much parleying, a typewritten list of the original town-charters was produced. Some time after the rejection of that as inadequate, and a request for certain

original documents, the clerk's assistant was struck by an idea. He fled from the room, to return some time later staggering under the weight of a large black tin box. This too had to be carried upstairs to the bleak but ornate 'Parlour.' Fastened within the lid of this box was a numbered list of its contents.* These last were wrapped each in newspaper or brown paper, and comprised documents of all sorts, some of great age and interest. On a request for more, especially for some of the originals of the transcripts in the manuscript notebooks of the local historian, a complete blank was encountered. There was nothing else. Further persistent questions elicited the confession that, at some time in the last century, many of the town's records were removed by the town clerk, then, as now, a practising solicitor, to his private offices in another building. While there an accident happened, 'a fire or something.' Those town records have never been returned. That same firm of solicitors is still practising, and still occupying the same offices, but nothing is known there of any of the town's old records. Municipal repositories, however, are not always thus.

With a few examples of what English town records reveal, they must perforce be left.

1587, October 11.

Item, we present the Skole Mayster because ther hathe bene juste provfe that he hathe abussed his skollers with suche vnressonable correction that fewe skollers will tarry with hime.†

1568-9.

Item for iij. ll. vj. oz. of seuger and a gallond of wyne which Mestres Merys and hir systers gave vnto Mestres Wylloughbe, the 23 of June.‡

vs. vj.

1614, 18 July.

We present Wedo Stockes for vttring drincke to the presners in the howse [of correction] after nyne of the cloke, being warned by the wache.

25.

* It is not strange that this box was temporarily forgotten. Its abiding place is referred to, in a typed inventory, as "in the lavatory," truly one of the many "unexpected places," to which the 1919 Report called attention, as the homes of records. Nor apparently is such a situation exceptional. The MSS. records of the Borough of Winchester were, according to the 1902 Report, kept in a disused lavatory. There, however, the authorities were honest enough to confess the fact, and to voice their strong disapproval and conviction of the need of something better. See the *Report*, p. 30, and *Appendix*, p. 74.

† *The Records of the Borough of Nottingham, being a series of extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham*, vol. iv, 1547-1625. *Mickleton Jury Roll*, p. 215.

‡ *Ibid.*, *Extracts from the Chamberlain's Accounts*, 1568-9, p. 134.

We request that your Worshippes wyll take some order wythe all the alewyfes in this towne, for we thinke that never an alewyfe dothe as hir husband is bownd to.*

1599, October 26.

We make a requ[er]st to your Worshippes, and thincke in our descretions that it is nott convenientt that Maister Mayor shalle nott walke the towne withe outt his gowne and tippette.†

The next extract shows the Manchester Court Leet concerned already with the competition of unmarried women in the labour market.

1584, 23 April.

The Jurie doith order that wheras gret vnconvenyence ys in this towne in that se[n]gle women beinge vnmarried be at ther owne hands and doe backe & brewe & vse other tr[ades] to the great hurte of the poore Inhabitants havinge wiefte & children As also in abu[sing] them selves wth yonge men & others havinge not anny man to controle them to the gret Dishonor of god and Evell ensample of others Inconsideraconn wherof the Jurie doith order that noe sngle woman vnmarried shalbe at ther owne hands or kepe anny housse or chamber wthin this towne after the feast of the nativite of our Lorde next sub pena vj^s viij^d & Imprisonment at the discretion of the Steward Bororeve & constables.

And further that [if] anny Sngle woman shall sell anny ale or bred or anny cōmodite by anny device or collusione to the hurte of the poore inhabitants & howsholders of this towne After the feast of all saynts sub pena to forfet the said bred ale & all other cōmodities so to be sould or set asale [i.e. on sale] & ffurther to be punyshed as abousaid. ‡

The following extracts are taken from the Constables' Accounts of the Manor of Manchester. It was the duty of these officers to preserve the peace, maintain good order, and carry out the orders of the Court Leet, and of the magistrates assembled in Petty Sessions. They also received the money collected by the various "misegatherers," as the local rate collectors were called.

2 October, 1612–21 October, 1613.

Paid more to John Boulton m^r Hollannd his man the viijth of Maye 1613 for the Repaire of Beaconnes Municonne of Armor, Weaponns, Matche, Bulletts and powder for the Traine banndes and his acquittanc'.

3^{li} 17^s 6^d.

Receaued more of the Misegatherers to paye for makeinge of p'cepts for hew and Crye after ffellonns and other suspected p'sonns of Murder as alsoe other preceptes to the Hammells [all the townships in the parish

* *Ibid.*, p. 325. *Extracts from the Presentments at the Sessions.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 253. *Extracts from Presentments of the Mickleton Jury.*

‡ *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester*, vol. i, 1552–1586, p. 241.

of Manchester] for Collectinge of Oxx Monneyes and for Souldiars into Ireland and Repaire of Beaconnes, Municon of Armor, weapons Matche, Bullets, and powder for the traine bandes And alsoe for the Conveyinge of prisonners to Lanc[aster], Repayringe of the Dungeon, Cage, Stockes, and Rogues post and other necessarye vses for y^e Townes as by theise p'ticuler Accoumpts appeareth. 8th 5th 9^d.

8 October 1618–7 October 1619.

Itm' for makinge p'cepts for the hamells to bringe all theire Alehouse-keep's before his ma^{ty} Justic[e]s of peace y^e 11th of Novem' ij^o.

Itm' paid for whippinge of Margret Lowder of Barnesley & for her passe & sendinge her to the next Constable the iiijth of June. x^d.

Itm' paid to John Tompson for making cleane the Dungeon two seu'all tymes. iiij^d.

14 October 1624–5 October 1625.

Paid for makeinge of a passe for Jone Buckingham of Ormeschurch and anothe^r passe [for] Gregorye Partingtonne of Ashtonne vnderlyne and Grace Hanme^r sent into Salford whoe had beene all three in the Dungeon fife dayes and indyted and Convicted at the Sessionns and branded one [on] the left Shoulde^r as Incorrageablee Rogues and soe sent awaye. 00^{li} 01^s 0^d.*

The archives of Southampton are full of interest.† The Books of Examinations and Depositions yield such items as the following :

xvjth Januarie, 1577.

The examinacyon of Alice Knight.

The said examine sayeth that she dwelleth in Romsey at the tavern, and married one William Knight a shipwrit, who went from her about whytsuntyde laste. And she hearing by dyvers that her husband was in the towne of Southampton came thither, and having little acquaintance in the towne mett wth one Whitfield who promised her lodging, but she was taken by the constable and comyted to the cage. The said Alice is dawter to one Richard Mowett of Southwark.‡

1577.

Anne Haylles, the daughter of Edmund Haylles of from stellwod in the countie of Somerset, sayeth she came vnto this towne to Barkers widows accompanied wth her fathers man Thomas Roberts and one Barker of Salisbury being acquaynted wth her father was appoynt to come to this towne to tary her so long as yt shuld please her father, to larne exersysc her nedell and to paye for her meat and drink, but as yet ther is no bargayne mad for her meat and drinke, the cheff cause of her sendynge

* *The Constables' Accounts of the Manor of Manchester*, ed. by J. P. Earwaker, vol. i, pp. 4, 3, 55, 62, 63, 147.

† See the publications of the Southampton Record Society.

‡ *Books of Examinations and Depositions, 1570–1594* (The Southampton Record Society Publications, 1914), p. 23.

hether was because she had meny suttres for maryage and her father disliking of them send her hether.*

In conclusion, it should be noted that municipal records are usually in the keeping of the town clerk, or the official of the Trust or Council which has superseded the older governing body. Though this official rarely knows enough, or has had the requisite training to appreciate the value, of his records, supervise their cataloguing, or assist the investigator in finding what he wants, yet most of them are to-day ready to do what they can to help, and seldom is there any real difficulty in gaining access to the records. It is however a personal experience that access may be discouraged, and even denied, in the case of a town long shorn of its former glory with no trace of its old governing body, and with its muniments in the custody of a local antiquary, himself quietly at work upon them for publication.†

Parish Records.

The parish is the oldest administrative unit in England. Its earliest records are ecclesiastical in character, but in the sixteenth century they began to assume a second aspect, for the parish then took up functions which had once been exercised by the 'manor.' This twofold aspect is naturally reflected in the records of the parish, for in practice there was no clear division between the activities producing the evidences until comparatively recent times. This was because the State made use of the existing Church officials when it organised, by statute, as the unit of civil administration, the old ecclesiastical parish with its ecclesiastical officials, busied primarily with the upkeep of the Church and with Church business. Hence, churchwardens' accounts are found occasionally intermixed with those of constables and overseers, and with other parish memoranda of a very miscellaneous nature.

For the purpose, then, of an adequate description of the contents of the average parish chest, it is necessary to bear in mind that the records are, in nature, both civil and ecclesiastical. Also, like the municipal muniment room, the parish chest became in time the depository of all sorts of important documents.

The oldest parish records are churchwardens' accounts, some of which, still in existence, date from the fourteenth century. There

* *Ibid.*, p. 33.

† A handy though incomplete list of towns the records of which have been partly, or wholly, printed or calendared, has been compiled by A. Rhodes in *Notes and Queries*, Series XI, vols. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

are also 'Books of Records,' of a date as early as the fifteenth century. These contain such things as leases, wills, memoranda, etc., relating to gifts to the church, chantries in the church, and local charities. Constables' accounts, often to be found among parish documents, are a somewhat scanty set of records; the earliest extant known begin in the sixteenth century. By the 1601 Poor Law Act of Elizabeth, the churchwardens were associated with the parish overseers in the care of the poor. Thus their accounts are often of great interest. They throw a flood of light, not only on the fabric, ornaments, and finance of parish churches, but also on the social and economic condition of the parish itself.*

With the legislation of the Tudors, the position of the parish as an administrative unit became clearer and its records fuller, increasing both in number and kind. The name of the assembly of the whole parish, the Vestry, came now first into common use, and the records known as Vestry Minutes began. They have been found as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, and are full of interest, for the functions of the Vestry were many. The incumbent of the church usually appointed the parish clerk, but the nomination of the sexton and the beadle was often in the hands of the Vestry, which also selected the names of persons to serve as parish constables. In 1555 the Vestry was entrusted with the appointment of the overseers of the highways. Further, it sanctioned the making of all parish rates, and audited the accounts of the officers whom it appointed. The parish rate books reveal many details about the occupation of land and the changes in the character and value of property all over the country. For the records connected with all its many activities,† from which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a great mass of documents resulted, the Vestry was responsible.

Meanwhile, also, miscellaneous documents piled up in the parish repository, some placed there for safe keeping, such as apprenticeship indentures, others deposited in accordance with various statutes, e.g. Tithe Apportionment awards and plans (Act of 1836), Inclosure awards (Act of 1845), plans of proposed drainage schemes (Act of 1861), etc. There was a great increase in the number of such

* There is a list of the churchwardens' accounts which have been printed in Gross, Ch., *The Sources and Literature of English History* (1915), and in *The English Historical Review*, vol. xv, pp. 335-41.

† *Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish* (Cambridge, 1919), by E. Trotter, is an interesting study of village life in North Yorkshire from the administrative point of view.

deposited documents in the nineteenth century, as there had been a century earlier of purely parochial evidences, such as sacramental oaths, certificates of settlement, lists of apprentices, orders of the Justices in Sessions, and deeds of educational and charitable endowments. Certificates of settlement form a long and important series from 1698 to 1834. Other certificates found amongst parish records concern bastardy, vagrancy, burials in woollen, etc. And somehow there have also come into the parish chest occasional court-rolls and manorial accounts, wills, inventories, deeds, leases, terriers, rentals, and miscellaneous correspondence.

In the nineteenth century parochial records began to diminish in general importance. The Poor Law Act of 1834 instituted Boards of Guardians as administrators of poor relief, instead of the old Vestries. In 1868, compulsory church rates were abolished. Four years after, the parish constable disappeared, and in 1894 those powers of civil administration still remaining to rural Vestries were taken from them, and handed over to the new Parish Councils. The Vestry kept only its ancient ecclesiastical powers, *i.e.* the appointment of churchwardens, the levying of (voluntary) rates, the auditing of churchwardens' accounts, and the care of its own ecclesiastical charities.

And what of the priceless contents of the old parish chests? In 1818, the Vestries Act directed that the custodians and place of deposit of all parish records, except the (ecclesiastical) Parish Registers, should be determined by the inhabitants of the parish in Vestry assembled. In 1894 the Local Government Act transferred this power from the Vestry to the new Parish Council, but provided that the records might remain in the existing custody if so desired. In urban parishes, they are still in the custody of the incumbent, or of the churchwardens and overseers, or even, in some cases, of the borough council.

With regard to rural parishes [says the Report of 1919 *], it will be readily understood that the permissive legislation of 1894 has not been productive of a uniform result. Such a body as the average Parish Council needs precise guidance as to its action in a matter which affects current business so slightly as does the question of the safe keeping of obsolete documents. The County Councils are capable of supplying this guidance; but it does not appear that their powers have been regularly exercised. An excellent survey of parish records has been drawn up by at least one County Council, that of Shropshire, but a consistent policy cannot be

* P. 13.

said to exist. Very few rural parishes possess complete series of any class of their civil records. This is due, not to recent neglect or to the defects of modern legislation, but to the frequent change of custodians, and still more to the character of the records themselves, most of which became obsolete in the course of a few years, and were apt to be left, unclaimed by the parish, in the hands of persons no longer in office, whose representatives very naturally soon got rid of them. A very large mass of them has been simply destroyed. It is the opinion of one eminent student that probably half of the rural parishes in England possess nothing in the shape of civil records earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The number of such records in private possession is, however, not inconsiderable. . . . The primary need for the whole group is that steps should be taken by all the County Councils to ascertain what each parish possesses.

For indeed no one knows the dusty contents of those packed parish chests, and few care, least of all, apparently, their custodians, be they clerk or lay. There is seldom an inventory, and it is impossible to rely on the word of the custodian that a document does or does not exist. Usually the records are hopelessly mixed up, very dusty, and, if folded, rarely dated on the outside, so that in a search each must be unwrapped.* Often the whole collection is designated as "rubbish" by its guardian.† A friend of the writer, inquiring recently of the clerk to a parish council concerning the old records of the parish, was told that he, the clerk, had seen them some fifteen years ago in an outhouse of his father's, but that no trace of them seemed to be left. As consolation, he naïvely vouchsafed the information that he had in his possession many records belonging to parishes in the surrounding district, since both he, his father, and uncle before him, had for many years been private collectors, advantageously placed, either as clerk to the County Council or chairman of the Parish Council. The first set of such evidences produced were sheriff's accounts, beginning in the sixteenth century.

The 1919 Report commented upon the custody and contents of various parish chests, for the Commissioners inspected several.‡

* I have been left to browse at will upon the unlisted contents of many parish chests, and forced to the reluctant conclusion that the theft of interesting original records might easily go undetected.

† See the unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London, deposited at the University) of Mr. J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* (1926), p. 424. On pp. 424-5, the author deals briefly with the contents of some parish chests in Nottinghamshire inspected by him.

‡ An excellent idea of the diversity and value of parish records is to be obtained from *Shropshire Parish Documents*, a catalogue of all the records of the Shropshire parishes, with their whereabouts, compiled by E. C. Peele and R. S. Clease, for the Shropshire County Council. Would that every county could show such a publication!

References may be made to these through the index to the Report. Few parish records have been printed, but some documents concerning local charitable institutions were included in the published Reports of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning charities (1818-1837). It may be noted here that, under the London Government Act of 1899, the records of metropolitan parishes have passed into the keeping of the metropolitan borough councils, as successors to the old Vestries. Of late, more than thirty London parishes have deposited their ancient books of accounts in the Guildhall Library, where they may be consulted. Some of the missing contents of the parish chests may have passed into the keeping of the Boards of Guardians, or remained in the hands of the overseers,* or be amongst the collections belonging to the archdeacons in which the parishes were situate. Says Dr. Hall, "the distribution of these records and the extent to which they have survived seems to be entirely a matter of chance." †

As early as 1594 the churchwardens of Whitstable complained to the Archdeacon on his visitation, "that the chest wherein the stock of the Church and poor with the evidences and writings of account lieth hath but one lock, which is in the keeping of our churchwarden, whereby sometimes the said evidences and bill of accounts are beaselled away." ‡

At Goodneston, in 1594, the Archdeacon was told that the Register of the parish "for about these two years last past . . . hath been orderly kept. But the Book that was before that time (and before we came into our office), is so defaced and rotten, that it cannot be read. The cause was this,—our old chest about that time was so great that it took up a great room in our church, wherefore by consent of our parish it was sold, and a new lesser [sic] made, which by reason it was of green wood, the sap and dampness thereof went through the book and spoiled it." §

At Badlesmere, the Archdeacon was assured, in 1613, that the parish had "a book in parchment of christenings, marriages and

* See Professor Hamilton Thompson's excellent little book, *Parish History and Records*, a revised edition of which was published for the Historical Association in 1926, and their last Leaflet, also by him, just out, *A Short Bibliography of Local History*.

† Hall, H., *op. cit.*, p. 130. See also his classified list of parish records, pp. 131-134.

‡ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxvii, p. 224.

§ *Some East Kent Parish History*, in *The Home Counties Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 92.

burials, and likewise a Book of Canons, as are mentioned in the articles [of presentment], which book their minister Mr. Yate took home unto his house, and there by casualty of fire his house being burned, the books likewise aforesaid, as Mr. Yate saith perished in the fire."*

Extracts from the records of the parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster,† may be used to illustrate parish documents. These are now in the keeping of the Westminster City Council and housed for the most part at the City Hall, where, in the writer's experience, every facility, accompanied by very courteous treatment, is given for investigation. The early records are in an excellent state of preservation. The series of churchwardens' accounts begins in 1460.

1504.

To fader Yanne for the keeping of the whype for betyng the dogges oute of the chyrche. xvjd.‡

1506.

Item, iiij printed books, ij of them the Lyfe of St. Kateryn, and other ij of the birth of our Lady, of the gift of the executors of Caxton.‡

1554.

Also paid to a painter for washing out of the Scripture of the high altar table. is.

Also paid for iij capons for the bishop's dinner at the reconciliation of the church. vijs.§

1559.

First paid for a Byble and a Parafrawse. xvjs.

Item for a Communion-book bound in parchemyne. vjs.

Item to John Rial, for taking down the tabil on the high altar, and taking down the holy-water stock. is.

Item for cleaving and sawing of the rood Mary and John. is.||

1595.

Item, paid for bread, drink, cheese, fish, cream, and other victuals, when the worshipfull of the parish, and many others of the poorest sort, went the perambulation to Kensington, in this hard and dere time of all things, as may appear by a bill of particulars. vij li xs.

Item, given to John Crevenne, alias ffote, a poor scoller born in this parish, after a sermon by him made in this church, by consent of such of the Vestry as were present at that sermon. i li.*

* *The Home Counties Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 213.

† See *A Catalogue of Westminster Records*, compiled by J. E. Smith. 1900.

‡ *A Catalogue of Westminster Records*, p. 43.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

1611.

Paid to Goodwfe Wells for salt to destroy the fleas in the Church-wardens' pew. vjd.*

1622.

Item, paid to Walter Hall, bricklayer, for bricks, tiles, etc., for and about the building and erecting of the correction house in Tuttle fields for this city, etc., being also for a house to set the poor of the parish on work there. clvj li ivs id.*

1628.

Item, to Richard Busby, by consent of the Vestry, towards enabling him to proceed bachelor of arts. v li.†

The overseers' accounts which are extant date from 1561, and convey a vivid picture of what must have been common occurrences and sights in old Westminster. The Vestry Minutes, which begin in 1588, are similarly enlightening as to the conditions of the poor. From the former are culled the following :

(Payments) 1561.

Item. To hunts wief for ye healinge of a scalde head. iijs.

Item. To Bull for teachinge of a childe. viijd.‡

1562.

Item. For bringing of straw from Mr. Woeleyes for the diseased girle aforesaid, for making cleane of the house, for her winding sheete and burieing of her. xvd.§

(Receipts) 1576.

Item, rec. of Mr. Savadg wche was taken of one yt. sowld rotten mutton in ye market. xijd.||

(Payments) 1581.

Item, to fower pouer women for the conveying of Agnes ffoster travayling of childe in the streate unto the house of Margaret Roberts in the Sanctuarye viijd, to the said Margaret for lodgeing her during three weeks iijs more, to the said Agnes at her dpture to Oxen where she was borne viijd. ¶ iijs viijd. ¶

1586.

To John Steppes thelder for takinge of Jone Curtise to be his apprentice viijs. iiijd. as by Indenture appeareth. **

1590.

To Turpyn for strawe to lodge a poore man in his hogstye. iiijd.††

* *Ibid.*, p. 52.

† *Ibid.*, p. 56.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 90. The arithmetic of the overseers is here at fault.

** *Ibid.* The indenture does not appear to be preserved amongst the records.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 91. *Some East Kent Parish History*, a series of extracts from pre-
sentments at the visitations of Archbishops and Archdeacons, printed in vols.
2-15 of the *Home Counties Magazine*, and transcribed by Peter de Sandwich and
Arthur Hussey, will also be found of interest.

The records of the parish in its ecclesiastical aspect are churchwardens' accounts, the parish registers of births, marriages and deaths, evidences relating to ecclesiastical charities, and tithe and inclosure awards. Of these, the parish registers are obviously of great value both to the genealogist and general historian. Their history has been written many times, and is clearly sketched in the 1902 Report * and summarised in that of 1919.† They originated in the injunctions of Cromwell in 1535, which required every parson, vicar, or curate to enter, in a book or register, the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial within his parish, and the names of the persons so wedded, christened and buried. The entries were to be made once a week, on Sundays, in the presence of one of the churchwardens, while the register itself was to be kept in a sure coffer provided at the expense of the parish.

A canon, set forth in 1604, ordered every church and chapel to be provided with a parchment book, wherein should be entered all the christenings, weddings and burials that had taken place in the parish since the law was first made to that effect. Future entries were to be made as before, and every page must be subscribed by the two churchwardens as well as by the minister. Moreover, and this is of importance, transcripts of the registers were to be sent to the diocesan registry. These, where they exist, are to-day valuable, especially where they antedate the registers extant in the parish church, or fill gaps caused by the loss of the originals. Various Acts have regulated the keeping of these registers, particularly Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1754, and Rose's Act of 1812, until the existing system was devised and put into practice by the Acts of 1836 and 1874. During the last century most of the non-conformist and other non-parochial registers were collected and deposited in the office of the Registrar-General in London.

Many of the sixteenth-century entries of baptisms, marriages and burials in the ancient parish registers are later transcripts, made in pursuance of the ecclesiastical canon of 1604, though some of the original registers of that period have survived.

Since there was no definite form laid down for the registration of marriages before 1754, or for that of baptisms and burials before 1813, the incumbent occasionally allowed his feelings to run away with him

* Pp. 18-21.

† See also Burn, J. S., *The History of Parish Registers in England* (1862). For a list of those which have been printed, see Marshall, G. W., *Parish Registers* (1900), and the publications of the Parish Register Society.

to the extent of making personal or otherwise irrelevant entries in the registers. This but adds to their interest, for royal movements, political changes, local events, medical recipes, personal comments, and much else, have accordingly found a place there. The Register of the parish of Alrewas in Staffordshire was for several years a complete journal of weather, storms, floods and other such occurrences.* That of Bishop Wearmouth, County Durham, yields the following :

Robert, daughter of William Thompson, bap. 15 Feb. 1730, the midwife mistaking the sex, ebrietas dementat.†

In 1655, at St. Botolph, Aldgate, it was recorded under date July 17 that

William Clark, son of John Clark, a Soldier, and Thomasine, his Wife, who herself went for a Souldier, and was billeted at the Three Hammers, in East Smithfield, about seven months, and after was delivered of this Child, the 16th day of this July, and was baptised the 17th in her lodging, being one Mr. Hubber's House. She had been a Souldier, by her own confession, about five years, and was some time Drummer to the Company.‡

At Peterborough, in August 1569, was baptised on the tenth day,

Sarah Stowkes, the Daughter of Henry Stowkes . . . who afterwards in the year of our Lord God 1599, did coppye this Register Book wth her own hands, then being the Wife of John Lansdune.§

At Brentford, in Middlesex, the Register recorded that

Alice and Elizabeth Pickering, wandering children, were whipped according to Law and sent with a Pass to Shrewsbury, the place where they were born, Feb. 26, 1698. ||

But even these ancient records have not been properly cared for, and the transcripts sent to the diocesan registries have suffered as much from neglect as any other class of episcopal record. The responsible custodians of the old registers are, in practice, the incumbents, and every time a benefice changes hands the registers are in danger of being mislaid or unintentionally removed with the books and papers of the man who has vacated the living. This has often happened. In two cases within the last few months, in widely different parts of the country, when the writer wished to consult one of the old original parish registers, known to exist, it could not be found ; in both cases, the incumbent was a new-comer ! The period of neglect however seems to be coming to an

* Burn, J. S., *The History of Parish Registers* (1862), p. 181.

† *Ibid.*, p. 106.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 189.

end, owing probably to the awakening of interest both within and without, to the labours of certain of the learned societies, and to the increasingly frequent visits of individual researchers.

The following example, as being an average set of parish records, is taken from the catalogue of Shropshire Parish Documents already referred to :

At Stockton, Shropshire.

Documents in the custody of the Parish Council :—

Kept in a tin box in the Clerk's house, viz.,

Parish Council Minute Book.

Declaration Book.

Book of appointment of Overseers.

Trustees of Stockton Parish Charities Minute Book.

Miscellaneous Papers.

Documents in the custody of the Rector.

Kept in a safe at the Rectory, viz.,

General Register, 1558-1754—then the Register of Baptisms and Burials to 1813; the front leaf of the register contains copies of the Marriages from 1754-1764. At the end of the Register there are " Lists of the Poor of the Parish for whom clothing was bought with Sacrament Money and to whom given," for the years 1812-1814.

Register of Baptisms, 1813-1872.

" " 1872-in use.

" Banns and Marriages, 1754-1812.

" Marriages, 1813-1837.

" " 1837-in use.

" Burials, 1813-in use.

" Parish Apprentices, 1802-1833.

Many Apprenticeship Indentures.

Terrier, dated 1726.

Terrier, dated 24 July, 1797.

" A survey of the Parsonage House at Stockton in the County of Salop as also of the Malthouse Barnes etc., thereto belonging together with the tenements and cottages formerly held by Tennants taken in the beginning of November, 1720." (To this the Seal of the Vicar-General is attached.)

Tithe Map and Award, dated 1839.

Book, containing :—

Constables' Accounts, 1602-1676, and

Churchwardens' Accounts, 1598-1677, several blanks, especially between 1645-1665.

Churchwardens' Account Book, 1690-1783.

" " " 1811-1889.

" " " 1889-in use.

Overseers' Account Book, 1662-1696.

" " " 1697-1783.

" " " 1784-1811.

" " " 1811-1832.

" " " 1832-1837.

From the records of the parish, it is but a short step to other local repositories containing material which is the indispensable complement to that already surveyed.

Ecclesiastical Records.

For purposes of description, these divide, according to their several repositories, into three, *i.e.* records in the official custody of bishops, in that of deans and chapters, and of archdeacons.*

A few facts must be borne in mind in an attempt to realise the nature of the contents of these ecclesiastical records. In the mediæval period, many of the powers exercised by the clergy derived from the Papacy. Allegiance was due both to King and Pope. Before the Reformation, appeals in matters ecclesiastical went finally to Rome, and the Church itself had a twofold aspect; it was a temporal magnate with secular estates and business connected therewith, and also the spiritual authority, which guided the intellectual and moral life of the people, presiding over ecclesiastical courts, the procedure of which was very different from that of the King's Courts of Justice. After the Reformation, appeals went to the Crown, not to Rome; and all foreign authority was repudiated. As time went on the judicial functions of the Church greatly decreased, and many have, since the nineteenth century, been abolished or transferred to the civil authorities, while the Ecclesiastical Commissioners now have charge of the administration of Church lands and property.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to remember the existence, outside the Church, of Roman Catholics, and, from the seventeenth, of Protestant non-conformists. It must also be noted, as explanatory of the records, that an archbishop or bishop delegated his judicial powers to an official, the Ordinary or Surrogate, while the administrative side of his work was left to the Vicar-General, where one was appointed.

The work of a metropolitan or bishop, then, was twofold: he must perform his temporal functions, *i.e.* administer his large secular

* For the contents of individual ecclesiastical repositories, see the 1800 Report, and the Reports, and Appendices thereto, of 1902 and 1919.

estates, and also fulfil his spiritual duties. These last included such acts as ordination and institution to benefices, the issuing of various licences, the conducting of visitations, the holding of the ecclesiastical courts, and the administration of testamentary matters, etc.

The episcopal or diocesan registries will therefore contain : *

Episcopal registers.†

Registers of institutions to benefices.

Transcripts of parochial registers.

Visitation Books.

Churchwardens' Presentments (of offenders from each parish).

Act Books of the Consistory Court.

Ordination candidates' papers.

Subscription Books of the clergy.

Allegations and affidavits for marriage licences, registers of marriage licences, and bonds for the due performance thereof.

Terriers of glebe lands, etc., in the several parishes of the diocese.

The court rolls of episcopal manors.

The accounts of the bailiffs of episcopal manors.

Administration bonds and inventories.

To this list may be added papal bulls, entries of Royal writs, injunctions issued to the clergy of the diocese, licences to beg, to teach, to practise as a midwife, or a surgeon, etc.

The Visitation books, which include the articles to be inquired into in all the parishes of the diocese, and sometimes the answers returned to them, give much detailed and unusual information both about parish and people, as do also the contents of the churchwardens' presentments.

The Act books of the consistory court of the bishop record proceedings before the chancellor of the diocese, or his commissary, concerning tithes, wills, marriages, defamations, and various offences against morals and discipline. Persons applying for licences to be married without banns were compelled to give particulars of their respective names, ages, descriptions and places of abode. Such are of great value to genealogists, and therefore extracts from documents of this class in various dioceses have been published by the Harleian Society and others.

Until 1858, all wills must be proved in some ecclesiastical court ;

* See the 1902 Report.

† See, for an excellent description of their contents, Fowler, R. C., *Episcopal Registers*, in the S.P.C.K. Helps to Students of History. There is also a further admirable account of them, in the same series, by Jenkins, C., *Ecclesiastical Records* (1920). The former gives a list of the episcopal registers which had then been printed up to date (1920).

hence, in each diocese there was an episcopal registry or depository of wills, as well as various minor ones. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, however, exclusive right to grant probate of the will of a deceased person who had lands in more than one diocese of his province, so that the most important of these repositories of wills is that of the Probate Court of Canterbury. A similar archiepiscopal court existed for the province of York. After 1858, when testamentary jurisdiction was transferred to the Court of Probate, most of the wills formerly preserved in the diocesan registries were transferred to the principal registry at Somerset House, or to the district registries. There are still, however, many wills in episcopal registries, and at Lambeth. Moreover, some wills are still to be found in municipal repositories since those of many burgesses were enrolled in the borough courts, *e.g.* wills in the London Court of Hustings.

The muniment rooms of cathedrals and collegiate churches are usually richer in early documents than any collections in England, with the exception of those at the British Museum and Public Record Office, for some of these capitular bodies are churches of the old foundation and their "documentary history" is "well-nigh intact." Conspicuous amongst these latter are Lincoln, Salisbury, and Bath and Wells. The others, in which a monastic community was replaced at the dissolution of the monasteries by a dean and chapter, have inherited, in very varying degrees of completeness, the collections of their predecessors.* However, the nature of the contents of capitular repositories are, in the main, the same, though in character so varied that it is almost impossible to attempt a representative list.

The function of the Chapter was the administration of the secular estates of the see, and, when the latter was vacant, of the diocese or province itself. Hence there are to be found amongst the records Royal charters, papal bulls, and evidences and accounts connected with land and property. Many of these early documents are now at the Public Record Office, deposited there by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The records comprise also fabric rolls, inventories, building contracts, Court rolls, and bailiffs' accounts, rentals and surveys, household accounts, documents relating to chantries and obits, to the visitations of churches and manors, Chapter Act-Books and Letter-Books. There are, moreover, the relics of the

* *E.g.* The Dean and Chapter of Westminster succeeded to the records of the great Benedictine Abbey there.

ancient libraries. These last vary greatly in extent. Lincoln, Salisbury, and Hereford have the best examples to show of mediæval libraries; Durham, Worcester, Canterbury, and Winchester were monastic.

The duties of an archdeacon ranged from his work of inspection and inquiry, as the bishop's vicar, to the exercise "of a concurrent jurisdiction with that of the bishop himself," though it was usually confined to his archdeaconry. His too was the right of examining persons to be ordained, and of inducting them when instituted. Of the records produced by the activities of the archdeacons in their office, of enormous interest where they exist, there has been no systematic study, since there is not as yet any convenient means of discovering which are still extant, or their whereabouts. Generally speaking, where archidiaconal records can be distinguished by the seal of the archdeacon's court, they are, in character, similar to those of the bishop. They comprise episcopal mandates for the induction of the clergy, churchwardens' presentments, proceedings with regard to defamation and immorality, etc., licences and certificates, etc.

The main difficulty in attempting to use ecclesiastical records is their inaccessibility by reason of their lack of arrangement, through the long years of neglect on the part of their custodians. Much elementary sorting and classifying must be done before the whole body of them can be used for systematic study. There is little as yet in print, though much is being done to remedy this in the case of episcopal registers, by the Canterbury and York Society. The Lincoln Record Society, under its able general editor, Canon Foster, has done valuable work of recent years in making the treasures of the diocese of Lincoln accessible to the student, both in print and at the actual repository itself. It may be mentioned here that when Foxe compiled his *Book of Martyrs* in the sixteenth century, he made much use of the Registers of the Bishops of London.

Of episcopal records, the 1919 Report noted that, speaking generally, "the earlier documents have in most cases had the benefit of skilled attention in recent years, but that those of later date (say, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) have been neglected." The responsible custodian to-day is the Bishop's Registrar. He, in many cases, is a solicitor practising in the locality, and the documents required for the transaction of current business are kept in his office. So, in a few cases, are the older records. The danger is obvious. One investigator thus described the state of things at Wells in 1926.

We naturally turned to the Diocesan Registry at Wells for further information, despite the fact that in an official return it was stated that no ancient records remained in the Registry. . . . As there was some difficulty in finding records of any particular date, we asked permission to look for ourselves, and we were taken into a large room in the tower, adjoining the Diocesan Registry, where we saw shelf upon shelf full of old volumes, most of them very damp and without covers, and three bastions crammed full of loose documents. It was quite clear that there was only one method by which these records could be made accessible, and that was to dry them thoroughly and arrange them in chronological order, in their different classes.

This was done later by this same investigator, who was, fortunately, also a professional archivist, and now 722 volumes have been catalogued, dating from 1458. He thus described his labours :

Before a start could be made with the classification of the books, they all had to be carried down a long and narrow spiral staircase, and then divided into various classes, and arranged chronologically.

The volumes already classified have been divided finally into four groups : Act Books, including presentments at visitations, Deposition Books, various Lists of clergy, and Licence Books. This investigator noted many interesting cases met with in these records, and also briefly described other volumes and loose documents found in the damp and musty tower at Wells, in a paper read before the Society of Genealogists in 1926.* There are "thousands" of letters ; "thousands" of wills and inventories, administration and marriage bonds ; a valuable series of episcopal transcripts of parish registers ; "hundreds" of original presentations to livings ; "thousands" of certificates of penances, mostly 1590-1640, and numerous other evidences which have not yet been dealt with.

As regards the accessibility of the records of cathedral and collegiate churches, the 1919 Report found that the documents concerning the special history of each foundation had, in all cases, been more or less thoroughly investigated, that some collections had been calendared throughout, while others had formed the subject of reports by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The records as a whole were noted as suffering neither from neglect nor ill use, for

The repository is usually some tower or chamber attached to the cathedral-church (in some cases in a side chapel) and of solid construction,

* *Discoveries in the Diocesan Registry, Wells, Somerset. A paper read before the Society of Genealogists, March 10, 1926, by R. Holworthy.*

if not technically fire-proof. In such cases the records may accumulate dust, but they are exposed to no worse evil, and even this has been eliminated at several cathedrals (*e.g.* Canterbury, York, Ely, Lincoln and Worcester) by admirable arrangements made in recent years. On the whole, capitular records have the advantage over episcopal in respect of condition, accessibility, and arrangement.

Of archidiaconal records, there was, apparently, nothing good to report. Many archdeacons were, in 1919, apparently unaware of the existence of any records at all of the activities of their predecessors. In other cases, where records did exist, they were mixed up with those of the cathedral, or were remaining in the custody of the registrar of the archdeacon, *i.e.* in a lawyer's office, to be, perhaps, forgotten completely. In the diocese of Wells, for example, the various archdeaconries had, in the past, each their own registrars, and now the documents are not forthcoming.

Archidiaconal records are well illustrated, in print, in the calendar of the *Records of the Old Archdeaconry of St. Alban's*,* in *The State of the Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, as illustrated by documents relating to the diocese of Lincoln*,† and in transcripts of the visitations of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, in *Archæologia Cantiana*. ‡ Space forbids their further description here.

Local Records in Private Possession.

Of these little can be said, except that they divide in character, though not in content, into two, the "inherited" collection, and the "made" collection. Both types may include all manner of records, wrongfully or rightfully acquired by their present owners.

"Made" collections have been in the past, and are usually in course of time, absorbed, either by bequest or purchase, by some public institution like the British Museum.

The "inherited" collection contains often, besides family letters and papers, records concerned with the ownership of the land in the locality, such as manorial court rolls, stewards' and bailiffs' accounts, rentals, surveys, leases, conveyances of land, wills, and correspondence relating to the trained bands and militia, etc. Occasionally there are to be found in a private collection documents of a public or semi-public nature, acquired by various members of

* Compiled by H. R. Wilton Hall, and published by the St. Alban's and Herts. Architectural and Archæological Society, 1908.

† Edited by Canon C. W. Foster (Lincoln Record Society Publications), 1926.

‡ Transcribed by Arthur Hussey in vols. 25, 26, 27 and 28.

the family who have served the State at some time in an administrative capacity, either in central or local government. Hence it comes about that these repositories often house such evidences as church-wardens' accounts, rate books, and even State papers. Frequently family papers include valuable household accounts, memoirs, diaries, and other interesting records.

It often happens that deeds and papers relating to land are not where they should be, for they have sometimes been retained by the original land-holders, when the estates themselves have been alienated. There are also now many manorial records in the Public Record Office, while only last year the Bodleian Quarterly Record * reported that the Manor Rolls of Kirtlington, once a royal manor belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, had been deposited at the library. These are typically interesting, and show the kind of material still to be found in private possession. The series of rolls begins in 1500; there is a nearly complete set for the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and the latter half of Elizabeth, and then a number of rolls covers various periods up to the year 1753. The records are written in Latin mostly, but where the writer had forgotten the Latin word, he used its English equivalent. They reveal the holding, on the manor, of two different manor courts: one, the view of Frankpledge or the Court Leet; the other, the Court Baron. The Court Leet dealt mainly with smaller police matters, such as assault, the non-ringing of swine, unlawful games, scandal-mongering, etc., and held the assize of bread and ale, meeting generally once a year in October. The Court Baron was the customary court of the tenants of the manor, and dealt with land questions, such as grants to new tenants, admission of heirs on payment of a heriot, orders for the administration of the land, the punishment of trespass, and actions for debt. An excellent picture of the inhabitants of the countryside is gained from a study of the cases which came before these Courts.

The contents of many of the more important private repositories of historical records have now been reported on by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but many are still inaccessible, and, what is more, are neither arranged nor calendared. Some owners however are both generous and helpful to investigators. Nevertheless, while much has already been lost for ever, there is the ever-present danger of the destruction of more of this uncalendared material, either by fire or negligent custody.

* November 1927, vol. v, No. 55, pp. 179-188.

Included in this group of local records, Dr. Hall places, in his *Repertory*, the muniments or collections of the various literary institutions, learned societies, and academic, professional, and trading corporations.

Into two further distinct classes, he divides the records of public offices in local repositories, and the archives of statutory authorities and trusts. These will not be described here, as they are easier of access in every respect, and their contents more obvious, than the five classes of records dealt with in this article. Moreover, they are lucidly surveyed in the *Repertory*, but with a note of warning that "most Departmental and Local Archives are inadequately arranged and described."

In conclusion, it must be observed that it is impossible to convey, in a short account, the interest and historical value of the wealth of material lying in local repositories. This must be seen, and, more important still, really investigated, before it can be completely understood or appreciated. A brief list of books is appended: they should be the "Consult Me" of every student desirous of handling local sources.

The Government Reports (cited above).

The 19th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (1926).

A Repertory of British Archives. Part I (England). H. Hall (1920).

A Select Bibliography for the study, sources, and literature of English mediæval economic history. H. Hall (1914).

Two Select Bibliographies of Mediæval Historical Study. M. F. Moore (1912).

A Bibliography of British Municipal History. C. Gross (1897).

The Sources and Literature of English History. C. Gross (1915).

A Handbook to County Bibliography. A. Humphreys (1917).

Guide to the Victoria History of the Counties of England, by H. A. Doubleday and W. Page.

Helps for Students of History, published by the S.P.C.K.

No. 2. *Municipal Records.* F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

No. 17. *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts.* M. R. James.

No. 18. *Ecclesiastical Records.* Rev. Claude Jenkins.

No. 22. *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.* R. A. Roberts.

No. 1. *Episcopal Registers.* R. C. Fowler (out of print) (1918).

Historical Association Leaflets,

No. 66. *Parish History and Records.* A. Hamilton Thompson (1926).

No. 72. *A Short Bibliography of Local History.* A. Hamilton Thompson (1928).

How to write the History of a Parish. J. C. Cox (1909).

Notes from the Ecclesiastical Court Records at Somerset House, 1471-1858. F. W. X. Fincham (in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series, vol. iv, 1921).

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

THE HEADING, *ACTUS PRIMUS, SCÆNA PRIMA*, IN THE FIRST FOLIO

SIR MARK HUNTER in his article of July 1926 in the *Review of English Studies* (ii. 295-310) discussed the "Act- and Scene-Divisions in the Plays of Shakespeare." In the course of his argument he said :

... In six plays, viz. 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which except for the initial heading, *Actus primus, Scæna prima*, there is in the Folio no attempt to divide the plays into acts, the prompt copies had no headings. ... The solitary heading, *Actus Primus, Scæna Prima*, in the six . . . plays argues a task undertaken but not carried out rather than, as Mr. Crompton Rhodes contends, merely "a device of typographical uniformity with no theatrical meaning or origin" (p. 304).*

It may be of interest to examine the heading, *Actus Primus, Scæna Prima*, as it appears in the First Folio to ascertain if it will yield any bibliographical evidence which will determine the significance of the caption.

The act and scene headings of the First Folio are characterised by a marked lack of uniformity. The word, *Scæna*, is often spelled *Scena* or *Scaena*. The adjectives of numeration, though usually capitalised, are frequently lower case. The adjective modifying *Actus* may be separated from *Scæna* by a comma, colon or period. The *A* in *Actus* may be a swash letter or it may be a plain italic. In fine, the inconsistencies were so glaring and so apparent to contemporary readers that the editor of the 1632 edition, which is in nearly all respects a servile copy of the First Folio, attempted to bring the captions into better form by employing, with occasional lapses, the spelling *Scæna* throughout and by capitalising the initial letter of all the words in an act or scene heading.

A more careful examination, however, will prove that, although the headings for the other acts and scenes are in chaos in regard to spelling and punctuation, the captions for act I, scene i, which appear

* *The Stager of Shakespeare*, p. 73 (Hunter's note).

in every play in the Folio bear a significant relationship to one another. The different forms of these headings are as follows :

A. *Actus primus, Scena prima.*

With the first six plays, from *The Tempest* to *Much Adoe*. The last-named play has no scene divisions.

B. *Actus primus.*

With the next three plays, *Loves Labour's Lost*, *Midsummers Nights Dream*, and *Merchant of Venice*, none of which have scene divisions.

C. *Actus primus. Scæna Prima.*

With the next three plays, *As You Like It*, *Taming of the Shrew*, and *All's Well*, the second and third of which have no scene divisions.

D. *Actus Primus, Scæna Prima.*

With the next play, *Twelfth Night* and with *King John* and *Richard II* which are separated from *Twelfth Night* in the bound copy by *Winters Tale*.

E. *Actus Primus. Scæna Prima.*

With *Winters Tale* and with all the remaining plays in the Folio which follow *Richard II*, with the single exception of the present setting of *Troilus and Cressida*. Of the twenty plays which bear this heading five (enumerated above) are undivided and four have no scene divisions.

F. *Actus Primus. Scæna Prima.*

With the present setting of *Troilus and Cressida*, which is undivided.

The present setting of *Troilus and Cressida* which now stands between *Henry VIII* and *Coriolanus* was printed after the other plays. It was originally intended to appear between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Cæsar*,* and in the original setting of the first page which is preserved in the Burdett-Coutts and Toovey-Morgan copies the caption, like those of these two plays, is in form E.

Winters Tale, again, is printed on quires signed with a series of signatures unrelated to any other series in the Folio. It stands last in the comedy section and its text is followed by a blank page. It has been contended that this play was printed after some of the plays which follow it in the bound Folio, and typographical evidence, to be noticed shortly, shows that this contention is correct.

There is, then, good reason to believe that were the plays in the

* J. Q. Adams, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VII, i (1907), 53-63.

First Folio (including both the original and the present settings of the first page of *Troilus and Cressida*) arranged in the order in which they were printed, the headings for act 1, scene 1, would fall in the following series: 6 A, 3 B, 3 C, 3 D, 21 E, 1 F. This regularity is in marked contrast to the chaotic condition of the spelling and punctuation of the captions for the other acts and scenes. The length of the series is so great as to eliminate chance as an explanation and the presence of such a heading as form C will, we think, be sufficient to prove that the regularity of these captions was not the result of the bestowal of great attention on the spelling and punctuation of them by the printer.

Jaggard's compositors, however, had as early as 1619, four years before the publication of the Folio, used a labour-saving operation which explains this regular series of captions for act 1, scene 1. When in that year Jaggard printed nine quarto editions of Shakespeare's plays, his journeymen in the composition of the title-pages of eight of them employed with the minimum number of changes for the lower half of the page the same setting of type and quads.*

The heading for act 1, scene 1, in the Folio, unlike those of the other acts and scenes which only extend across a column, stands in the centre of the page between two rules immediately under the title. The task of making the heading centre must have given some little trouble, and Jaggard's compositors having once set up the caption used the same setting of type and quads repeatedly. We could, lacking other evidence, be tolerably sure that this explanation was correct from our knowledge of the previous employment of the operation and the absence of any other explication of the regular series of headings. Fortunately, we need not content ourselves with any probability however strong. Conclusive proof, we believe, may be found in the fact that in the word *primus* of form A the same imperfect serif of the descender of the "p" is found in each of the six cases in which the form occurs. This evidence, in our opinion, will admit of no other explanation than that each of the forms of the heading for act 1, scene 1, represents a single setting of type which was preserved intact and was used to print all the captions of the plays which are in that particular form.

The use of this mechanical method of printing the heading for

* Neidig in *Modern Philology*, viii. (1910) 145-163; and in *The Century Magazine*, lxxx. (1910) 912-919. There is some controversy over the details of the operation: see Pollard in *The Library*, 3rd ser., ii. (1911) 101-107.

act I, scene i, proves almost beyond a doubt that the insertion of the caption above the six undivided plays mentioned by Sir Mark Hunter is, in the words of Mr. Crompton Rhodes, "a device of typographical uniformity without any theatrical meaning or origin." The very fact that at the beginning of the Folio changes were made in the forms from A to B and then to C tends to show that the printer realised the absurdity of placing a reference to a first scene above a play which had no scene divisions. As the printing of the volume progressed, however, he became less careful, and even mechanically placed over six undivided plays the caption, *Actus Primus. Scena Prima*.

This examination of the headings for act I, scene i, of the Folio besides deciding, as we hope it has, the theatrical significance of these captions, has also shed considerable light on a perplexing bibliographical problem. There has been some doubt as to when *Winters Tale* was printed. The testimony of the headings prove that it was printed with the other plays which bear the form-E-caption, that is, after the printing of *Richard II*, and not improbably, as Pollard* has suggested, when the pressmen were half through 2 *Henry VI*.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY.

The Newberry Library, Chicago.

"W.B." AND MASSINGER

The Duke of Millaine (1623, sig. π1 †) and *The Bond-man* (1624, sig. A4), the first two of Massinger's plays to be published with dedications, both contain commendatory poems signed "W.B." It is usually assumed that both poems are the work of a single writer, and I see no reason to doubt this, but who was he? The poems have been variously ascribed to William Browne, William Basse, and William Barksted, generally on the ground that they are unlike the work of some one else, ‡ but there is no particular reason for associating any

* *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (London, 1909), pp. 135, 136.

† The collation of *The Duke of Millaine* (1623) is: 4°: A², π[unsigned]², B-M⁴. The contents of the preliminary leaves are: A1^r, title; A1^v, blank; A2^r, dedication; A2^v, dramatis personæ; π1, poem signed "W.B."; π2, blank, missing in most copies. Dr. Greg (*The Library*, 4th Ser., iv. 208) was wrong in assuming that π1 belongs to sheet A; in a Bodleian copy, Mal. 236 (1), A1, A2, and π1 all contain portions of a watermark, while a British Museum copy, 644.e.73, has all four leaves, none of them containing any portion of a watermark.

‡ For a discussion of the several attributions see Professor T. W. Baldwin's edition of *The Duke of Millaine* (Lancaster, Pa., 1918), pp. 144-145.

of these with Massinger. Lately, however, I have found in the Public Record Office a Chancery Bill dated "6 No. 1624" in which Massinger has for fellow-plaintiff a "William Bagnall of London gent,"* and this furnishes a definite connection, and at the right time, between Massinger and a "W.B." Bagnall, moreover, did write occasional verses, for he contributed a commendatory poem to Barksted's *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis* (1607, sig. A4), and in a manuscript of *Certaine selected Psalmes of David. (in Verse) different from Those usually sung in the Church. Composed by Francis Dauison, esq. deceased: and other Gentlemen. Manuscrib'd by R. Crane* there is an "Induction. 3. to so many of the Psalmes as are of M^r. Fra: Dauisons Composure" † signed by "W^m. Bagnal." Thus it seems likely that Bagnall also wrote the verses prefixed to *The Duke of Millaine* and *The Bond-man*. He appears to be otherwise unknown.

A. K. McILWRAITH.

A LETTER FROM LADY MARY TO MR. WORTLEY MONTAGU

FURTHER light is thrown upon Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's relations to her husband by an unpublished letter in the library of Wellesley College. Mr. Wortley Montagu was never, it is suspected, a very affectionate husband, but that Lady Mary's departure for Italy in 1739 was due to a quarrel appears unlikely. "Lady Mary started on her lonely pilgrimage," says "George Paston," "little thinking, probably, that she would never see her husband again, and that more than twenty years would pass before she was to return to her native land. The reason for her self-imposed exile has never been ascertained, and the unpublished papers throw no fresh light upon the question." ‡ The Wellesley letter demonstrates,

* Chancery Proceedings, Bills and Answers, Charles I., Bundle M 60, No. 10. I hope to have an opportunity of returning to this suit.

† MS. Rawl. poet. 61, fol. 6^r. The next item in this MS. (which is all in Crane's hand) is dated October 23, 1626; see F. P. Wilson (*The Library*, 4th Ser., vii, 199); the Psalmes also appear with the induction signed "W: Bagnall" in other Crane MSS. mentioned by Mr. Wilson, MSS. Harl. 3357, fol. 7^r and Harl. 6930, p. 8.

‡ *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her Times* (London, n.d.), p. 366. The Wellesley letter was apparently not among the unpublished papers accessible to the author.

in a measure, that relations between husband and wife at the time were at least amicable, and were so recognised by their London world.

Letters to her husband punctuate Lady Mary's journey. On July 25, 1739, the day after her departure, she writes from Dartford, "I should be very glad to hear you are well; if you write to me to be left at the post-house at Dover, I suppose I may have your letter before I leave that place."* The next day she writes from Dover: "I have followed your direction in sending for Mr. Hall, who has been very civil." And the next day, July 27, from Calais, "I am very impatient to hear from you: I could not stay for the post at Dover for fear of losing the tide." After this letter the next one published is dated "August 18 N.S." from Dijon, where she arrived "very safely" and "much mended in health." Here she finds many English acquaintances, "Lord Mansel lodges in the house with me," she writes, "and a daughter of Lord Bathurst's, Mrs. Whichcote, is in the same street. The Duke of Rutland is gone from hence some time ago, which Lady Peterborough told me at St. Omer's." Not finding the place as quiet as she expected, however, she plans to leave "after the return of this post," and concludes, "I hope to hear, as soon as possible, that you are in good health."

Of the published letters the next is from Lyons, dated September 1 †; but the Wellesley letter, dated "Dijon, Augt. 27, N.S.," continues the story of her earlier letter from that town, and relates an incident indicative of the esteem in which the traveller was held by her compatriots:

Dijon Augt. 27. N.S.

This is a very agreeable Town, & I find y^e air agree wth me extremely, here is a great deal of good Company, & I meet wth more civillity than I had any reason to expect. I should like to pass y^e Winter here if it was not for y^e expence, but it is utterly impossible for me, to live decently wthin my allowance, I have been entertain'd by all y^e considerable people French & English, & can have no excuse for not returning it, but being on y^e road, the lodgings are excessive dear, & every thing in proportion. Lord Mansel has been so particularly obliging to me, that if you see him, or M^{rs}. Blackwood his mother, I think it would be proper for you to give him thanks, I did not mention it in my last Letter, because I thought you might be alarm'd, & I hoped it would be over before I wrote again,

* Unless there are indications to the contrary, quotations are from *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe, Third Edition, London, 1861.

† *Paston*, p. 368.

as it now is, but I was then in some difficultys. I beleave I told you in my last I accedentially met Lady Peterborough at St. Omers, by going to y^e same Inn where she lodg'd, we supp'd together, & in discourse, I told her I had brought guineas wth me from England, she assur'd me they would not pass wthout a loss, & in going from Flanders to France, if I was search'd all Foreign money might be seiz'd, she offer'd me y^e assistance of her Banker, whom she immediately sent for, he confirm'd what she said, but told me he would give me a Bill on M^r. Waters at Paris w^{ch} would be paid at sight in any Town in France, not knowing how to do better, I accepted of this expedient, only reserving in money what was necessary for my Journey to Dijon, w^{ch} was at an end assoon as I arriv'd here, I gave my Bill the next morning to my Landlord to carry to y^e cheif Banker of y^e Town, he came back very Blank saying y^e Banker knew neither M^r. Waters, nor y^e person who had drawn upon him, & that he could advance no money, till the return of Letters from Paris, w^{ch} would be at least eight days, I suppose Lord Mansel heard of this disapointment by y^e Land Lord, & wthout mentioning it to me, went immediately him selfe to y^e Banker & pass'd his word for what ever summ I pleas'd to take up, & then came to wait on me, & told me wth great respect what he had done, & desir'd me to make use of his credit, thō I am sensible he acted by y^e Direction of his Governor who came with him to see me, & is a very reasonable man, yet I think it deserves some acknowledgment, for thō I did not judge fit to make use of it, chusing rather to live a few days upon Trust, my Bill was accepted at Paris, & paid me here last Sunday. I think now of moving very soon, but am yet undetermin'd as to my place of Residence, I receive as many different counsels as I see people, what I would avoid, is y^e crouds of English w^{ch} are spread all over France. a daughter of Lord Bathursts is here (M^{rs}. Whichcote) & has entertain'd me.

The letter is addressed "To Edw^d Wortley Esq^r at his House in Cavendish Square London Angleterre." It is endorsed on the back (in accordance with her husband's methodical practice) in Mr. Wortley's hand: "L.M. 27 Aug. N.S.," and below, significant indication of what impressed him most of all, "The Dearness at Dijon."

Lady Mary's apparent desire to spare her husband anxiety, her sense of his probable gratitude to one who had assisted her, and her suggestion of the propriety of some acknowledgment on his part, point to a friendly understanding between husband and wife, and to a normal intercourse with their social world. That the passing unpleasantness of Pope's satires and Swift's lampoons made a retreat to the Continent momentarily desirable for Lady Mary, we may well imagine; but sustained by this letter any sympathetic observer may also believe with Charles Wentworth

Dilke * that it was for bodily and not spiritual relief that Lady Mary, already under the shadow of an incurable disease, left England in search of a more humane climate.

HELEN SARD HUGHES.

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS

My copy of the first edition (the second of *Night the First*) has been rebacked and re-endpapered, obscuring a bookplate, and I do not know to whom it belonged. But some of the title-pages are dated in a contemporary hand as follows :

Night IV, 10 March 174²₃
 „ V, 16 Dec^{br} 1743
 „ VI, 30 March 1744
 „ VIII, 7 March 174⁴₅

Some bibliographer may like to compare these data with the evidence of advertisements.

R. W. C.

THE BRIDAL OF TRIERMAIN AND HAROLD THE DAUNTLESS

It is doubtless well known to lovers of Lockhart that the anonymity of *The Bridal of Triermain* (1813) and of *Harold the Dauntless* . . . by the Author of the *Bridal of Triermain* (1817) was a rather elaborate hoax. I was myself ignorant of the facts, until guided to them by a bibliographical clue.

A close connexion between the two poems is suggested by the title-page of the second, and is otherwise apparent. They were uniformly printed by Ballantyne in a very small octavo—a form quite different from that of Scott's avowed poems. Yet it seemed odd that *Harold*, published four years later than *Triermain*, should have on each signature "Vol. II." The explanation is given in a letter to Morritt of January 30, 1817: "Among other misfortunes of

* *Papers of a Critic* (London, 1875), p. 354.

Harold is his name, but the thing was partly printed before Childe Harold was in question." Cantos I-II of *Childe Harold* were published in 1812.

I cannot find in my copy of *Harold the Dauntless* any indication of a break and resumption. Every sheet has the watermark "Whatman 1812."

R. W. C.

UNFRACTURED FORMS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ESSEX PLACE-NAMES

In a recent paper (*R.E.S.*, iii. 453), Miss Mackenzie attempts to show that the unfractured forms in thirteenth-century Essex Place-names in *Feet of Fines for Essex* "show the influence of the neighbouring dialects of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. They must be regarded as typical of the border area of North Essex, and there is not the slightest reason for putting them down as London forms" (§ 5). The precise geographical position of practically all the places bearing these names is stated to be "in North Essex, along the Cambridge-Suffolk border" (§ 3).

Of the fractured forms, *Heldeheye* (§ 6) is described as a "grange in Copford" (FF, i. 163). It was part of the possessions of John Bolebek of Copford, and is, no doubt, the original name of the modern Bullbank's Farm, slightly north of Aldham, and about a mile and a half north-east of Marks Tey (cf. § 3). *Chelvestun*, which occurs six times with *Chelves-* and once with *Shilves-*, has been identified with Coupal's Farm in Sturmer, quite close to the Suffolk border (*Trans. Ess. Arch. Soc.*, xviii. 68). In Dedham, another parish separated from Suffolk only by the Stour, we find *Cheldewellewute* and *Cheldewelle Mede* (FF, i. 137); in Borley, another border parish, *Chalvecroft* (1308, *Trans. Ess. Arch. Soc.*, xviii. 262, in an extent of the manor); whilst in Gosfield, north of the line Clavering-Aldham, is *Chalfputel* (FF, ii. 9).

Weald and Chadwell show the normal Essex development of OE *ea + ld*. This was not confined to the south of the county, but survives in the following names of places in parishes north of Miss Mackenzie's border line: *

Chardwell (in Arkesden): *Cheldewell*, *Chaldewell* 1361 Ct.

Child Well (Colchester): *Cheldewell(e)brok*, -feld 1330, 1352 Ct.

Chinnell Lane (Wendens Ambo): *Chelwewell* 1387 Walden Cart.

* The abbreviations are those of the English Place-name Society.

The identification is made certain by the mention of the neighbouring Clanver End and Westbury.

Shadwell Wood (Ashdon): *Chalwelmede* 1538 LP.

Wieldbarns Farm (Debden): *Weldebernys* 1395 IpmR.

Other examples of early fractured forms in place-names in this area are: *Leys Wood* (Gosfield); *Heldelye* 1349 Ipm; *Old Hall* (Wethersfield): *Eldhalle*, 1395 Cl; *Old Heath* (Colchester): *Ealdehethē* a. 1272, Colch. Cart.; *Eldehethē(e)*, 1310, 1311 Ct, 1341 Paper Bk., 1384 Oath Bk.

South of this line drawn by Miss Mackenzie, we find the following examples of unfractured forms in thirteenth-century Essex Fines (I omit all doubtful forms as on p. 453, § 2): *North and South Weald* (*Walde* (16), *North-*, *Suth-waude* (3), *Northwolde*), *Aldholt* (2), now *Birch Holt* in *Birch*, *Aldebir* in *Manuden*, *Caudewell* (*Chadwell* on the *Thames*), *Thidwoldintun* (now *Heybridge* near *Maldon*), and *Borewaldone* (*Barn Hall* in *Tolleshunt Knights*).

Unfractured forms of thirteenth-century Essex place-names are more than "occasional." In FF, accepting Miss Mackenzie's eliminations, we find 58 examples of non-fracture to 33 of fracture. The difference will not admit of a geographical explanation. Absence of fracture is not typical of the Cambridge-Suffolk border, whilst, far from being occasional, it is more frequent than fracture in the forms for *North and South Weald* (20 unfractured, 8 fractured), though the reverse is the case with *Chadwell* (1 unfractured, 11 fractured—assuming that *Ch* never stands for [k]). A fresh examination of the material in *Assize Rolls* (Nos. 230-3, 1235-54), and *Forest Proceedings* (Nos. 12-15 and 20, 1262-91) reveals, with the same eliminations as above, 7 fractured forms against 67 non-fractured in the *Rolls* and 24 examples of fracture against 27 in the *Proceedings*. Taking these official documents as a whole, we have only 64 fractured forms against 152 non-fractured forms.

The thesis that such documents as *Pipe Rolls*, *Feet of Fines*, *Assize Rolls*, etc., reveal the *London* and not the *local* forms was based mainly on the development of OE *y* in these documents (*Englische Studien*, 59, 325), where it was shown that a geographical explanation is insufficient, and partly on the *Strat-Stret-* test (*ibid.*, 340). With regard to fracture, the conclusion was that "the material here is not sufficient, of itself, to prove PR is a *London* document, but is not inconsistent with the results already reached" (*ibid.*, 342). These results were confirmed by comparing the material from *Assize*

Rolls from different counties and Subsidies with Fines and Assize Rolls.

These arguments would lead us to suppose that the Charter Rolls, for instance, would show results similar to those of the Fines and Assize Rolls. Here, for the thirteenth century (vols. i., ii.), Cambridge, Middlesex, and Suffolk provide only four examples: *Aldewich* 1267, *Coldham* 1299, *Sudwald* 1227 and *Suwaude* 1290, which might be local forms but are not inconsistent with those in Essex FF, etc. But *Cantebrug(ge)* 1227, 1248, *Subbur* 1252, *Wudebrug* 1227, and *Haverhull* 1267, 1280, in Suffolk and Cambridge, cannot be the local forms, and in the case of the three Suffolk names influence from a neighbouring dialect could result only in the Essex *e* and not in *u*. In Essex, we find *Waud* and *Caldwell* in 1253 in a grant to the Abbot of Stratford dated at Westminster. There are only Essex places mentioned here, and we should expect either Essex or Middlesex forms. Neither is the Essex form, so it is reasonable to suppose we have the Middlesex form. So, too, we have *Walde* in 1246 and 1260 and *Caldewell* in 1285, and the only sign of fracture is in *Chelveston* 1267. For OE *y* we have *e* 2, *i* 5, *u* 2 (cf. *Englische Studien*, 59, 324). *Wield* (Hants) is *Waude* in 1284, *Westweld* 1270, and *Weald* (Oxon.) is *Walde* in 1229 Cl. Here, again, we have only one out of three forms that can possibly be local. The simplest explanation is again that this official document reveals the London dialect

Miss Mackenzie has overlooked the form *Coldhakber* (1307 MCR). This represents Coldharbour, a place in London mentioned in a Guildhall document. It is a clear example of absence of fracture which can hardly be explained away as due to a non-local scribe. If *Cold-* existed in London in 1307, there is no reason for rejecting the London origin of the *-ald-* and occasional *-old-* forms in the thirteenth-century Essex Fines.

The clearest test of the presence or absence of fracture in Essex place-names is the uncompounded *Weald*. Out of 80 thirteenth-century forms in FF, Ch, Ass, For, RH, only 8 examples of fracture are found. According to Miss Mackenzie's arguments, the 72 unfractured forms are abnormal, must be due to another area (§ 6), and this is not London (§§ 7, 8). But these documents are London documents, and we are concerned only with Essex place-names. This great preponderance of non-fractured forms must show the normal form in the dialect of the district in which these documents

are written—and Miss Mackenzie admits this is not the Essex dialect. How can we escape the conclusion that we have here the normal form of the London dialect of the period?

Wyld has argued that the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies (c. 1200) are in the London dialect (*Essays and Studies*, vi. 136 ff.), and their dialectal features approximate very closely to those of the place-name forms (*Englische Studien*, 61, 231). Here we have both *ald* and *holden* beside *ealde* and *healde*. There is also a clear example of an unfractured form in London in *to halden* in Henry III's Proclamation of 1258. The Mayor's Court Rolls and Adam Davy both have non-fractured forms. We must, therefore, accept or reject both the place-name forms and those of the texts as revealing the London dialect. Thirteenth-century *-ald-* spellings in Essex place-name forms are common in official documents; they are not confined to the Cambridge-Suffolk border, and they can be satisfactorily explained only by regarding the type of document considered as a London document which reveals the London dialect.*

PERCY H. REANEY.

London.

MIDDLE ENGLISH (i) *WITE GOD*, *WITE CRIST*, (ii) *GOD IT WITE*

THESE idioms have not received adequate treatment. The fact that they contain the present subjunctive (or, less probably, the imperative) of the verb *wite*, "to know," has not been taken into account. They have often been regarded as merely synonymous with the well-known *God wot*, "God knows," or *wot Crist* (cf. *Ancren Riwele*, ed. Morton, pp. 90, 312); alternatively *wite* has been referred (as by Skeat on the Piers Plowman passage) to *witie*, "to guard, defend." Their equation with certain Continental Germanic formulæ has been overlooked, and in general their force has been misapprehended. Their meaning is: "Let God (or Christ) know (it)," "God be my

* To the solitary fractured form Miss Mackenzie has found for Cambridge and Suffolk (§ 4) may be added: *Heldepark* in Hatley, *Heldeheth* in Ditton (1278 RH, Cambs.), *Chaldecotes* 1247, *Chalve Croft* 1286 (both in Wicken, FF Cambs.), *Chaudewell* 1252, *ib.* The prefix in *Old Newton* occurs in the Suffolk Fines as *Elde-* eleven times between 1330 and 1360 and once as *Elder-* in 1344. There are also eight clear examples of fracture in the surnames of the above parishes in the same documents.

witness (to it)," "I call God to witness." They are strong asseverations, and are virtually equivalent to "I declare to God." They are therefore more forcible than *God wot*, *Goddot*, and twice in the passages quoted below they accompany a threat.

Of type (i) there are the two following examples in Middle English literature :

Ye lutle hwile þu ha dest, ha þe þuncheð fulgod and ful swete, and eft, wite crist, heo is ful biter to betene. (For the short time you are doing it, viz. the sin, it seems to you very good and very pleasant, and afterwards, Christ be my witness, it is very painful to expiate.)—*Old English Homilies*, 1st Series, ed. Morris, p. 29.

"Wite god," quod a wafrestre, "wist I pis for sothe,
Shuld I neuere ferthere a fote for no freres prechyng."

Piers Plowman, B. V, 641.

MS. B reads "God wot," but this is not so effective as "Wite God," which is parallel to the "bi cryst" of the cutpurse's speech in line 639.* Skeat explains "may God defend us."

That this type (i) was more common than these two passages would imply is clear from the occurrence of *wite god* in the following passage of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Horn* of Mestre Thomas :

Seignurs bachelers, bien semlez gent bevant,
Ki as noeces alez demener bobant ;
Ben iurez wite God, kant auerez beu tant.

Horn, l. 4011, ed. Brede and Stengel.

(Young gentlemen, you have all the appearance of drinking fellows, who go to weddings to behave uproariously ; you swear "wite God" when you are in liquor.)

Identical phrases exist in Middle Dutch, Middle Low German, and Middle High German. In the last *wizze Crist* is frequent,† and there is one example in the oldest period of German, viz. in "Christus und die Samariterin" (l. 8), where its use in a speech of the Woman of Samaria to Our Lord is quaintly anachronistic.‡

* In the corresponding passage (vi. 120) of the A text, Skeat cites *wyte God* from three MSS., and all the others, Professor Chambers informs me, except Vernon, which has the feeble *I-wis*, read the same.

† Bradley in his edition of Stratmann's *Dictionary*, cited this parallel s.v. *witen*, and Professor Fiedler has supplied me with evidence of its frequency. *Lexers* gives only two references ; he treats the verb as imperative.

‡ Cf. the use of *Goddot* (= *God wot*) by God speaking to Adam after the Fall in *Cursor Mundi*, l. 870 :

Goddot, adam, pis said i are (i.e. "I told you about this before").

Biuuaz kerost thu, guot man, daz ih thir geba trinkan ?
 Ia ne niezant, uuizze Christ, thie Judon unserra uuist.
 (The Jews, Christ be my witness, do not use our food.)

In Middle Dutch we find *wetekerst*, with the curiously mutilated by-forms *wetecree*, *wetekey(e)*. In Middle Dutch and Middle Low German we have *witte God*, *wetegod*. These are clearly distinct from the declaratory forms corresponding to English *God wot*, viz. Middle Dutch *God weet*, *weet God*, Middle High German *gotweiz*, *weiz got*; of these there are also perverted forms, *go(o)deweet*, *goteweiz*, which would seem to be due to assimilation to the trisyllabic rhythm of *wizze Crist*, *wetekerst*, *wetegod*.

Of type (ii), with *it* inserted,* two examples also are extant in Middle English :

God hit wute, & he hit wot, me were leouere þet 3e weren alle oðe
 spitel vuel þen 3e weren outfule.—*Ancren Riwele*, ed Morton, p. 250.
 (God be my witness to it—and he knows it—I had rather you were all
 lepers than that you should be envious.)

God it wite, he shal ben ded,
 Wil i taken non ofer red.

Havelok, l. 517.

The type has also a parallel form involving the indicative, *God it wot*, of which there are several examples in *Ancren Riwele*, and one in *Havelok*, l. 2527. This form has been commonly taken to be the source of the *goditoutet* occurring in at least three Old French texts as a characteristic English adjuration; † but such an equation is not satisfied phonologically by either of the current variants *God it wāt*, *God it wōt*. The source of the French form must surely be our *God it wite*; but the *w* has been vocalised, while the four-syllable rhythm has been retained by cutting off the final *e* (possibly from the phonetic variant *God it wēte*). Similar accommodations of Germanic phrases—in which relief from an unfamiliar consonant group is found in the insertion of a vowel, or some other modification is used

* Professor Tolkien calls my attention to the close resemblance of the phrase used in *The Owl and the Nightingale*, l. 440 (where the scribe of the Jesus MS. has mistaken the idiom; it means "I would have you know") :

De lilie mid hire faire wite
 Wolcumeþ me, pat [*MS. J. peyh*] þu hit wte,
 Bit me mid hire faire blo
 Þat ich schulle to hire flo.

† E.g. by W. Förster on *Wistasse*, l. 2199; Baist in *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 408; Tilander, *Lexique du Roman de Renart*, p. 87 (for this last reference I am indebted to Professor E. G. R. Waters).

to obtain a convenient metrical group—are found in Old French verse; e.g. *ise gout* in the second passage below, *ya* scanned as two syllables in the first and third passages, *Godehelpe* (for *God helpe*) in *Roman du Renart*, Br. 1 b, l. 2351, *Godelamit* (for *God almit*) in *La pais aux Englois* (T. Wright's *Political Songs of England*, 1839, p. 68).

The three known examples of *goditouet* are in the following passages:

"Et ses tu le lai dam Iset?"

"Ya, ya, goditoet,*

Ge fot saver," † fet il, "trestoz."

Renart, Br. 1 b, ll. 2393-5 (ed. Martin).

Li prestres englois les ‡ jugoit,

Qui volenters les § engorgoit;

A cascun vin donoit un bout,

Et puis si disoit: "ise gout; §

Bi saint Thomas qui fu martin,

Goditoet, ci a bon vin."

H. D'Andeli, *Bataille des vins*, ll. 171-6.

Je vieng devers Nohubellande,||

V. ans ai esté en Irlande:

Tant ai beu de la goudale,¶

Tout ai le vis et taint et pale.

Or m'en revois boire des vins

A Argentuel ou à Prouvins."

"Comment avés à non, sans gas?"**

"Sire, j'ai à non Mauferas,

Englissemant de Canestuet,

Ya, ya, codidouet."

Dist l'estrumiaus: "Tu ies Englés.

Franchois cuidioie que fussiés."

Wistasse le Moine (ed. 1891), ll. 2190-2201.

C. T. ONIONS.

A NOTE ON THE MID BACK SLACK UNROUNDED VOWEL [a] IN THE ENGLISH OF TO-DAY

I BORROW my description of the vowels from the phonetic system used by Mr. Wyld in his *Short History of English* and elsewhere; and I attempt to define further the value of the sound known vulgarly

* The other MSS. make a hash of the word, but nearly all the spellings go to confirm the quadrisyllabic pronunciation: godrooet, godistonnet, gordatouet, goditouet, damiconet; the last is evidently an attempt to Frenchify it.

† I do know (it).

‡ I.e. les vins.

§ Is good.

|| Northumberland.

¶ Good ale.

** What is your name, in sooth?

as "long a" in the speech of the moment. A development has taken place, or is in progress, which this distinguished scholar has not yet dealt with. In no way could I presume to criticise him or his method; for it is impossible to overestimate the debt that students of philology owe to Mr. Wyld.

It is possible, however, that he would be the first to welcome any argument arising out of his work. It is beyond the power of any phonetician to attain absolute accuracy without the aid of mathematics.

As a Northerner I am keenly sensitive to the difference between the Low Front Slack [æ] of Received Standard and the corresponding sound, as in "hat" heard in the North. In the application of the dialect difference to the so-called long sounds of "a," one meets the difficulty. Now, in Mr. Wyld's table, p. 47, of the *Short History*, we find the German "Mann" classed in the one division with the English "father." This is probably the best solution that the system will allow; but it does not satisfy the facts of speech. The vowel in the German word is usually reckoned short. There is great similarity between it and the "short 'a' sound" in many Northern dialects. It is the same as the Italian and French short "a." These conditions render it impossible of identification with the sound in the English word. I take the North German educated pronunciation as my standard.

The true long sound corresponding to the vowel sound in "Mann," "hatten" and "Paris" is of exactly the same quality but twice the length. It is heard in such words as "Wagner," "Fahne," "machen" and perhaps "âpre." This is not the sound heard in the English "alms," "hard," "card," "laugh," "art," etc. It is time that all realised how incorrect it must be to speak of one vowel as long in relation to another when the two differ in quality. It is, for example, stupid to describe the sound in "beat" as "long [i]" and that in "bid" as "short [i]." In fact, it is demonstrable that the difference between these two sounds normally pronounced is negligible. There is in Standard English no vowel which we may accurately call short in relation to that of "father," or "art," though the sound [a] itself, pronounced in a word of three syllables, such as "artistic," actually contains so many fewer sound explosions that some describe it as short [a].

Mid Back Tense [a] as in "but" has, in the pronunciation of many, a value close to [a], but there is, even when affectation is

present, a distinction in quality which forbids us to regard it as the short sound corresponding to [a] in "art."

If one is driven to compare the vowel with which we are dealing with a fixed standard, let us take as such the "a" in North German "machen," a true "a" sound. The word is chosen advisedly. For where the vowel is followed by a Front consonant the "a" may perceptibly trail into the front [æ] if the word is drawled out aloud, as the tongue moves forward to the front position. Thus to some ears "aber" may sound [a-æ-bər]. Indeed, when uttering this sound I was told that I was producing the West Saxon long digraph. To avoid such a charge I choose the word "machen," when the tongue has no occasion to move to a front position. It is not possible to equate this sound with that in "father." Indeed, when a German says "vater" and the Englishman "father" the difference of quality is quite apparent.

In short, the value of "a" in such words as "father," "alms," "art," has shifted probably to the value of a relatively slack [ɔ] Low Back Tense Round. The vowel is now much nearer to that in "hall" [hɔl] than that in "machen." The effect, however, is produced largely by a rounding of the earlier vowel. Indeed, Grandgent, in a book on the comparison of English and German sounds, says that many English people pronounce "a" long with the tongue in a position for "o" and lips in a position for "a." As a matter of fact, however, an observation of the lip positions in the pronunciation of the German and English vowels reveals that the English position is comparatively rounded. In the pronunciation of the German sound the mouth is opened wide and the corners drawn back; in this position the lips perform absolutely no rounding function; in the pronunciation of Received Standard [a] the lips being looser and slacker are in a position which is relatively more suitable for rounding, which actually takes place.

Whereas the English vowel has no exact short-equivalent, its nearest substitute is found in the words "watch," "wan," "wad," etc., but less rounded than in Standard English. Mr. Wyld recognises this sound [ɔ] as Low Back Slack Round. If this vowel sound be isolated and pronounced at greater than normal length, the vowel will be that of "father," but perhaps a shade tenser. The different pronunciations in the South of the word "laugh" illustrate how far the tendency may go. In some pronunciations the word has the same vowel with "hall." As the

humble disciple of Mr. Wyld I make this attempt to "catch the manners living as they rise."

WILLIAM JOYCE.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR WALTER RALEGH'S *CYNTHIA*

TO THE EDITOR, *Review of English Studies*

SIR,

Miss Latham, in her article on "Raleigh's *Cynthia*," may very likely be right as to the number of books. It is very difficult in many cases to distinguish the arabic figures 1 and 2 in Elizabethan hands, and I have not seen the MS. But I do not think her argument from the forms 21th, 22th is sound. These forms, not 21st, 22nd, are in my experience the normal Elizabethan mode of writing the ordinal. They were doubtless read "one and twentieth," "two and twentieth." There is therefore no *necessity* to discard the readings 21 and 22 in favour of 11, 12.

Yours truly,
J. P. GILSON.

THOMAS HEYWOOD'S LATER REPUTATION

SIR,

Please allow me space to call attention to an error in my paper on Thomas Heywood's reputation in the April issue of the *Review of English Studies*. Through an error in transcription which escaped me in the proofs, the name Jacob Giles appears on p. 138 instead of the correct Giles Jacob.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT.

REVIEWS

The Works of Sir George Etherege. The Dramatic Works
... Edited with Introduction and Notes by H. F. B.
BRETT-SMITH. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1927. 2 vols. in
8vo. (The Percy Reprints, No. VI.) 15s. net.

THE admirable series of Percy Reprints has at last reached its culmination for which we have been waiting for so many years, and Sir George Etherege, who was *Gentle George* and *Easy Etherege* to his friends, is now, like *Falstaff* (he would have relished the allusion), Sir George to all Europe.

At first glance it seems surprising that an author whose intrinsic merit and immense historical significance have been recognised so widely, and have been proclaimed to the world by a host of critics with the great names of Dryden and Coleridge at its head, should have had to wait for so long for a really competent editor. But the reasons for the neglect of Etherege are only a part of the larger reasons for the neglect of that whole group of Restoration Wits of which he was a brilliant member. This neglect was not, as is sometimes imagined, due to Lord Macaulay or to Victorian prudery. Its cause must be sought in a far earlier period and is probably to be found in the opinions of that other and far greater group of authors who were in so many respects the literary descendants of Dorset, Rochester, Sedley and Etherege. The attitude of Congreve, Pope, Swift and Steele to their literary predecessors provides a striking contrast to the attitude of the great Elizabethans to the men of *Tottel's Miscellany* and *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Sidney considered Surrey's poem "worthy of a noble minde," and Spenser praised Sackville's "learned muse" and thought his "golden verse worthy immortall fame," while the tributes of Wordsworth and Coleridge to Lady Winchilsea, Dyer, Thomson, Collins, Chatterton and Burns are as nobly generous as they are familiar. But Congreve, who perhaps owed more to Etherege than to any other single author, never even mentions his name, and Pope regarded the whole group superciliously as "a Mob of Gentlemen who wrote with Ease,"

although he had no hesitation in borrowing and adapting whole lines from their works. The real gulf between the Wits of the reign of Charles II and those of the reign of Queen Anne is, however, revealed most clearly by Steele in his famous paper on Etherege's masterpiece (No. 65 of the *Spectator*). In a previous number (51) he had already expressed his opinion of what the aim of the drama should be :

If Men of Wit, who think fit to write for the Stage . . . would turn their Thoughts upon raising it from good Natural Impulses as are in the Audience, but are Choaked up by Vice and Luxury, they would not only please, but befriend us at the same time.

It is instructive to compare this passage with the definition of an ideal play placed by Dryden in the mouth of Sedley (*Lisideius*) in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* :

A just and lively image of human nature, representing its passions and humours, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject for the delight and instruction of mankind.

Steele's view is that the conscious object of the dramatist should be to improve the morals of the audience. In *Lisideius's* definition "instruction" is relegated to a subordinate position, and the main object of the dramatist is to present "a just and lively image of human nature." The difference is the difference between the writer who wants to reform society, and the writer who wishes to give expression to the life that he finds around him. Both theories have produced excellent work, but it is difficult for the purely didactic writer to approach sympathetically the work of the realist with the detached outlook. For the first certain aspects of human nature are simply bad, and not to be endured at any cost. For the second every aspect of human nature is interesting, and worthy to be expressed through the medium of his art. Steele's criticism of *The Man of Mode* shows the division very clearly. He is deeply shocked because Etherege's *Dorimant* calls the fat Orange-woman "An Overgrown Jade, with a Flasket of Guts before her," "and salutes her with a pretty Phrase of, *How now, Double Tripe?*" He sympathises with the "poor footman" whom *Dorimant* threatens to "uncase," and with *Harriet's* pious and tender mother, of whom that young lady speaks with unbecoming levity, and concludes that "the whole celebrated Piece is a perfect Contradiction to good Manners, good Sense, and common Honesty;" . . . It never seems to have

entered the head of the critic that such a contradiction had been the chief subject of comedy from Aristophanes to Shakespeare and Molière, and that to witness it on the stage need no more corrupt the audience than the witnessing of a successful murder in a tragedy need turn them into murderers. It is true that John Dennis, a survivor of Etherege's own generation, answered Steele vigorously in *A Defence of Sir Fopling Flutter* (1722), but his was a voice crying in the wilderness, and in spite of the admiration of Horace Walpole for *The Man of Mode*, there is little doubt that the overwhelming weight of literary opinion was on Steele's side.

When the great critics of the early nineteenth century turned their attention to what Lamb called "The Artificial Comedy of the Last Century," they discussed Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar and Sheridan, but Etherege was almost ignored. It is true that Coleridge with his usual acumen discerned the quality of the best scene of *The Comical Revenge*, and paid the notable but little-known tribute (which Mr. Brett-Smith quotes) to Etherege's "exquisite, genuine, original humour," and that Hazlitt mentions him as the pioneer of the Comedy of Manners and writes a few fine sentences of appreciation of *The Man of Mode*. But Leigh Hunt did not include his works in his edition of the Restoration comedies, and Macaulay only alludes to him casually in the famous essay on the *Comic Dramatists of the Restoration* that he wrote as a review of Leigh Hunt's collection.

The widely spread modern interest in Etherege and his works undoubtedly dates from Sir Edmund Gosse's graceful but very inaccurate essay published in *Seventeenth Century Studies* in 1883. It was this essay which first drew the attention of the public to the famous Ratisbon Letter-book bought by the British Museum in 1838, which had been known to Macaulay and used by him in his *History of England*. This large mass of correspondence, consisting of manuscript copies of letters written and received by Sir George Etherege whilst English Minister at the Court of Ratisbon in the reign of James II, provides material for a portrait of the man and his times which is richer and more interesting than that which is available for the biography of any dramatist of the seventeenth century. It also proves what might have been suspected from the few letters of Etherege published in the eighteenth century, that he was as brilliant a letter-writer as he was a comic dramatist. In 1888 Mr. A. W. Verity published an edition of *The Plays and Poems*

of *Sir George Etherege*, limited to five hundred copies. This handsome volume was the first collected edition that had appeared since 1735. It soon became as rare and as expensive as the eighteenth-century editions.

A detailed comparison of Mr. Brett-Smith's edition with Mr. Verity's would provide a most valuable and instructive commentary on the progress in English scholarship in the last forty years and the new standards which have come into existence in the present century. The text of Verity's edition, as he states in his introduction, is that of the first collected edition, published by Tonson and Bennet in 1704. He consulted some, but not all of the original quarto editions of the plays. Nevertheless, as Mr. Brett-Smith shows, he is led by his confidence in the eighteenth-century text into reproducing most of its errors, "including some in which it had previously been unique." He also altered the stage directions wherever they seemed to him to be "vague or incorrect" and modernised spelling and punctuation throughout.

Mr. Brett-Smith's edition, as any one acquainted with his previous work would expect, is a superb example of modern scholarly editing. It is the result of years of patient work during which several copies of every available edition of the plays have been examined with the utmost care. The two volumes which have appeared contain the three plays with an introduction, an accurate and complete bibliography, and textual and explanatory notes. The publisher announces a third volume containing the Poems and the best of the Letters and certain early critical essays and extracts concerning Etherege. It is regrettable that Mr. Brett-Smith and his publisher have decided not to round off the work, and make it a complete as well as a definitive edition by giving us the whole of the correspondence. Sooner or later the Ratisbon Letter-book and the other letters must be printed in full, and it is impossible to conceive that an editor better qualified than Mr. Brett-Smith for the important work of placing this valuable mass of documents before the public will ever be found.

Mr. Brett-Smith's text of the plays is founded on the earliest quarto editions in each case, which are, as he shows, "the only real authority." The exact spelling and punctuation of the original texts have been preserved, except in certain very carefully defined instances, and there can be no doubt whatever that the text provided by this edition will henceforth be the standard one. Some idea

of the immense care bestowed on the building-up of this text may be gathered from the following account of his methods given by the editor :

The text of *The Comical Revenge* has been read separately in proof (1) with the Bodleian copy of Q. 1, (2) with the editor's copy of Q. 1, and (3) with the Thorn-Drury copy of Q. 2. The text of *She wou'd if she cou'd* has been read separately with each of the editor's copies of Q. 1, and the text of *The Man of Mode* (for which Malone 107 was originally used for the body of the play and Ashm. 1041 for the last leaf) has also been read separately with the editor's copies.

A couple of examples taken at random from the earliest of the three plays will show how Mr. Brett-Smith's care has been rewarded :

Near the beginning of *The Comical Revenge* (I. i.) *Dufoy*, the French valet, hearing his master knock on his bedroom door, makes an exclamation printed in the seventeenth-century quartos as " Ian ! Villian ! " The compositor of the edition of 1704 changed the second word to " Villain," and was followed by all subsequent editors, including Verity, who appends the footnote, " meant for damn villains ? " Mr. Brett-Smith retains the original reading, and gives in his textual note the completely convincing explanation that " Ian " and " Villian " are merely the Frenchman's pronunciation of " John " and " William," the names of the footmen whom he is calling.

In Act V, Scene 5, of the same play *Sir Frederick Frolick* is warning *Sir Nicholas Cully* that he cannot escape. In 1704 (followed by Verity) he gives as a reason for the warning that " there are certain Coach-poles without." " Coach-poles " is a meaningless alteration by the compositor of 1704 of " Catch-poles," the reading of the quartos, which Mr. Brett-Smith restores.

Mr. Brett-Smith's introduction covers eighty-three pages, and contains a biography of Etherege and a critical appreciation of the plays. In the biographical section all the facts concerning Etherege are gathered together and carefully sifted for the first time. They are presented with a terse lucidity which might serve as a model for this kind of writing. A good example of the way in which Mr. Brett-Smith has disposed of some of the loose statements concerning Etherege which have been so often repeated without investigation is to be found on p. xxii, where he points out that the well-known lines in "*A Session of the Poets*" on the "crying Sin Idleness," and the "long Seven Years' silence" of "*Gentle George*" could not have

incited the dramatist to the composition of *The Man of Mode*, as Sir Edmund Gosse and other biographers have assumed, since it is clear from internal evidence that the poem must have been written later than the play. The story of Etherege's life at Ratisbon is told with a liveliness and a wit which is perfectly in keeping with the subject, and which confirms the opinion already expressed that Mr. Brett-Smith is the ideal editor of the complete Correspondence.

The critical section contains a short but extremely stimulating and subtle analysis of the plays. Nothing, for instance, could be better than Mr. Brett-Smith's description of *Sir Fopling Flutter* as "the goodliest fop of fops since born, for Etherege has handled him lovingly, humouring his extravagances, and tempering the breath of satire." But in his estimate of the qualities of *The Man of Mode* he seems for once to have been carried away by his enthusiasm for his author. Nobody will deny that the style and general tone of this play provided the basis on which Congreve built the exquisite art of *The Way of the World*, but it is surely an exaggeration to say with Mr. Brett-Smith that the duels between *Dorimant* and *Harriet* are "the core" of Etherege's masterpiece and his "chief contribution to English comedy." *Harriet's* charm is unquestionable, and it is admirably analysed by Mr. Brett-Smith, but there can be no doubt that she is completely outshone by *Dorimant* and *Sir Fopling*, and is hardly more prominent than *Medley*, the two *Bellairs*, or *Emilia*. The two unforgettable scenes in the play are the first with the wonderful conversation of the Wits, the Orange-woman, and the Shoemaker, and the second scene of the third act where *Sir Fopling* makes his immortal entry; *Harriet* is not present on either of these occasions, although she is beautifully described in a famous passage in the earlier scene. The fact is that Etherege never really grasped the final secret of success in the kind of comedy of which he was the pioneer in England. He richly deserves the credit of having disentangled the Comedy of Manners from the monsters of silly heroics and uproarious horseplay that threatened to strangle it in its cradle. But he never perceived that only one of the three main themes that emerged from this process was the stuff of which great comedy could be made. The portraiture of the false pretender to wit and fashion and the comparison of such a figure with the real man of taste and sense has great possibilities, but they are satiric rather than truly comic, and the same objection applies to what seems to the modern reader the rather heartless fun at the expense of the

cast mistress or foolish old woman. The great theme is, of course, the duel between the perfect fine gentleman and the lady of wit and charm who meets him on a footing of equality, and shows herself capable of loving without sentimentality or heroics. It had been adumbrated by Etherege in *She wou'd if she cou'd*, but in that charming play, as in Sedley's *The Mulberry Garden*, the doubling of the central characters dilutes the charm, and impairs the unity of the effect. *The Man of Mode*, with all its wit and delicacy, seems to the present writer to fail in just the quality for which Mr. Brett-Smith praises it. *Harriet*, unlike *Millamant*, does not dominate the play, and the duel between her and *Dorimant* is completely outshone by the blaze of *Sir Fopling's* folly, which is magnificent, but scarcely high comedy. In fact, Etherege chose the wrong theme for the core of his play and gave a merely subordinate position to the right one. Congreve's genius and his superiority to his predecessor are nowhere more clearly revealed than in his reversal of the relative positions of these two themes in *The Way of the World*, where *Witwoud* and *Petulant* are as subordinate to *Millamant* as *Harriet* is subordinate to *Sir Fopling*.

The quality of Mr. Brett-Smith's commentary does not fall below the high level of excellence reached by the other parts of his edition, and his notes are a mine of valuable and relevant information. A peculiar interest is attached to one of them, as it embodies what was probably the late Dr. Henry Bradley's latest separate contribution to English lexicography, and explains the word *Democcuana* which has probably been a stumbling-block to every modern reader of *The Comical Revenge*. The explanatory notes err perhaps on the side of scantiness. For example, there should surely be notes on "Mother *Shipton's* Prophecies" (*The Comical Revenge*, III, ii, 38), "presidents" (*Ibid.*, III, v, 13), and "the Royal Aid" (*The Man of Mode*, I, i, 7). On the other hand, we might have been spared the note that informs us that "*Amb.*" (*She wou'd if she cou'd*, II, ii, 119) stands for "ambo," and that ambo means "both together."

Mr. Brett-Smith professes to be unable to explain the curious phrase "this Square" in *The Comical Revenge*, I, iii, 16. The sharper *Palmer* is complaining of his gaming losses to his friend *Wheadle* :

I have laid the dangerous Pad now quite aside ;
I walk within the Purlieu of the Law.
Could I but leave this Ordinary, this Square,
I were the most accomplish'd man in Town.

It is surely clear from what follows that "this Square" refers to the settling of Palmer's debts, for immediately afterwards *Wheadle* suggests the bubbling of *Sir Nicholas Cully*. There is no parallel given by the *N.E.D.* for "Square" as a verb in the sense of "settle a debt" before the nineteenth century. Professor Ernest Weekley suggests to me that "Square" could be an adjective, and that "this Square" is "an absolute construction," like "this done," "this being understood," etc. He paraphrases the passage "Could I leave this tavern * with my losses counterbalanced (by some winnings)," adding, "this is of course very conjectural."

Mr. Brett-Smith in his note on the word "Ordinaries" in the same scene explains it as "public eating houses," and adds "in the seventeenth century they were notorious for after dinner gambling." The scene, however, is laid not in a tavern but in "*Wheadle's Lodgings*," where that sharper kept a gaming table. The word, therefore, in this scene seems to be used in the sense of "gaming tables," or "gaming hells." The *N.E.D.* only cites parallels for this sense in compounds such as "ordinary-table," "ordinary-keeper," etc. (meaning 19a).

It is difficult to understand why "Gifford's" (*She wou'd if she cou'd*, v, i, 223) is explained as "a fashionable eating house." There certainly seems to have been an eating house of this name, but from the general sense of this passage it is clear that the allusion is to Mrs. Gifford, the notorious procuress.

In his explanatory note on "God a-mercy Judge!" (*The Man of Mode*, I, i, 156) Mr. Brett-Smith writes that "there is no justification for Verity's alteration of the text," but he does not give Verity's reading either here or in the textual note. It will be remembered that *Sir Fopling's* gloves are scented with a perfume called "Orangerie." Mr. Brett-Smith quotes as a parallel the passage in *The Kind Keeper* where Mrs. *Tricky* speaks of her "*Orange Gloves*," but it would surely have been more apposite to have cited a passage in which the actual word occurs such as Shadwell, *The Virtuoso*, Act III (Q. 1, p. 55) where *Sir Samuel Harty* dressed as a female huckster, offers the ladies "good Gloves, Amber, Orangery, Genoa, Romane, Frangipand." The most serious lacuna in the commentary, however, is the omission of notes on the stage histories of the plays. Such notes should surely form part of every edition of an old dramatist's works. A purchaser of a modern edition of *Etherege's*

* Or rather "gaming table." See below.

plays has a right to some information concerning revivals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it would be interesting to know if any of the plays were revived in the nineteenth century. Finally, Mr. Blackwell might easily have given us the 325 pages in a single volume instead of two slim ones, or, if the uniformity of the size of the Percy Reprints had to be preserved at all costs, the notes to *The Comical Revenge* might have been placed at the end of the first volume in order to save the reader the inconvenience of having to consult notes in Volume II while reading a text in Volume I.

However, when all is said and done, this is the best edition of a Restoration dramatist that has hitherto appeared. It is even more than this; it is one of the most notable achievements of English scholarship in recent years.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

The Poems English, Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw.

Edited by L. C. MARTIN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
1927. Pp. xcii+474. 21s. net.

THOSE who have made constant use of Mr. Martin's edition (1914) of Henry Vaughan in the Oxford English Classics will know what to expect from his edition of Crashaw in the same series, and they will not be disappointed. They will not look primarily for literary appreciation, but for a thoroughly careful apparatus criticus of the text, a garnering of the biographical material and a body of notes confined with rigid economy to necessary elucidation and illustration of the poems. The scholar's needs are admirably served by this edition, which at once supersedes any previous work of the kind on this poet; there has hitherto been no such complete collection of the ascertainable facts of the poet's life and of the material which must help any future scholars in defining the text of the poems and the order of their composition.

For the first time the reader has in book-form such important recent discoveries as Crashaw's letter from Leyden in February 1644 and Queen Henrietta Maria's letter of September 1646 commending Crashaw to the Pope. Miss E. C. Sharland did useful service in printing the former, sixteen years ago, in the *Church Quarterly Review*, but Mr. Martin's text is more exact, and he provides a facsimile as well. This letter is of primary biographical importance

for a particularly obscure period of Crashaw's life, it establishes his intimate connection with the Little Gidding community, and it is also the only surviving example of his English prose. The Queen's letter had already appeared, by Mr. Martin's kindness, in Dr. Mario Praz's important book *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra* (1925). We have in print for the first time the official documents of Crashaw's appointment to the petty canonry at Loretto and of his death there. More exact information might have been collected about his Cambridge life; e.g. the new chapel at Peterhouse was consecrated in March 1634, before Crashaw crossed the road from Pembroke Hall in the following year, though much still remained to be done for its embellishment, in which the poet took active part; *Admissions to Peterhouse* shows only three pupils (including Ferrar Collet) assigned to the new Fellow, so that he is likely to have enjoyed much enviable leisure; and Mr. Martin might have been less hesitating about Crashaw's Anglican ordination and official connection with Little St. Mary's. No reference is made to the article by Lord Chalmers in *In Memoriam A. W. Ward*.

Four Elegies and an Epitaph are printed for the first time from a Bodleian MS. Two of them are attributed in the MS. to "P. Cornwallis," but Mr. Martin assigns them, chiefly on grounds of diction and style, to Crashaw. They are neither better nor worse than the many examples of this genre and date already printed in the seventeenth-century editions of Crashaw or in Dr. Grosart's editions. A more important discovery is the *Epithalamium* found in a Harleian MS. Mr. Martin printed this poem, and gave his reasons for assigning it to Crashaw, in the *London Mercury* for June 1923.

For the text of all the poems the editor has industriously collated every available source, whether printed or in manuscript. His work upon the MSS. has often been rewarded; in particular, he has at last provided from one of the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian the three words which are missing from Stanza 51 of *Sospetto d'Herode* in all the printed texts. Mr. Martin may be thought by some to have given an undue preference to the posthumous volume of 1652. It is, indeed, the only book of Crashaw's which has any typographical beauty, and it contains his latest readings; but its punctuation is now and then inferior to that of 1648, and we may suspect that some mistakes in punctuation are due to the Paris printers' ignorance of English.

In almost every case where a poem has been considerably altered

between its first and its second appearance, both versions are printed separately. This is a generous allowance, having many advantages, but it has also the disadvantage of requiring the reader to track out for himself some important variations; e.g. the series of changes in the passage about "revealed Life" in *A Hymn to Sainte Teresa*, involving some confusion of genders, is only fully traceable by referring to two parts of the book, and the editor does not draw attention to the confusion or explain it in his notes. It is unfortunate that, in the order of poems adopted by the editor, "An Apologie for the following Panegyricke" is separated by nearly forty pages from the Panegyric. The editor's plan also obliges him to print substantial parts of this latter poem in small print at the foot of the page, and the convenient headings, adopted in 1648, are relegated to yet further obscurity.

The annotations are always to the point. Many interesting parallels to Crashaw's diction are collected from the byways of seventeenth-century writings, in Latin as well as in English. There are resemblances between the work of Crashaw and that of his Peterhouse friend, Joseph Beaumont. The originals of Strada, Cebà and Remond, which Crashaw freely translated or paraphrased, are conveniently given. The reference in the note on the epitaph on Dr. Brooke should be, not to Crashaw's schoolmaster at the Charterhouse, but to the Master of Trinity, whose close connection with Donne deserved to be mentioned.

When Mr. Martin and the Clarendon Press have given so much that was wanted, it may seem ungracious to ask for more, but for expeditious turning of the volume to follow up the footnotes and annotations an index of the titles of the poems is greatly needed. The difficulty is not removed by reprinting the "Tables" of the 1646 and 1648 volumes in the body of the book; in any case there was no "Table" of the 1652 volume to reprint. It is not given to all well-read persons to remember even famous poems by their opening lines. Who can be expected to remember, for instance, that *The Flaming Heart* begins "Well meaning Readers"? It would also be a convenience if the "Sigla" could be printed immediately after the Contents, instead of being buried somewhere in the Introduction, and if on the same page the complete list of MSS. were given with references to the pages where they are severally described.

F. E. HUTCHINSON.

Les Prophecies de Merlin. Edited by LUCY ALLEN PATON. (Modern Language Association of America: Monograph Series I.) New York: D. C. Heath & Co.; London: Oxford University Press. Two vols. 1925, 1927. Pp. xxxix+496+405. \$9. 40s. net.

THIS late offshoot of Arthurian literature, written in French by a Venetian author, is chiefly interesting, in relation to "English" studies, as illustrating the far-flung echoes of the *genre* of political prophecy due to the inventive genius of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The text is from *Rennes MS.* 593, dated in 1303. It represents an abbreviated version of the original work. Miss Paton would obviously have preferred to use a fuller manuscript, which is in commercial hands and unavailable. But the prophecies themselves, which are the real substance of the book, are fairly full. Professedly dictated by Merlin to various scribes, they bear upon the incidents and controversies of thirteenth-century continental politics. Interspersed are episodes of romantic narrative, drawn from or based upon the "vulgate" *Lancelot* and its elaborations. The manuscripts and early prints, both French and Italian, are described in detail, and a collation of variants is given. The second volume is a very full and learned study by Miss Paton of all the problems of source, authorship and political setting. She rejects the ascription of some of the manuscripts to a "Maistre Richart d'Irlande" claiming to translate from Latin at the behest of the Emperor Frederick II, and makes a good case for the authorship of an anonym, probably a Frate Minor, interested in Venice, hostile to ecclesiastical corruption, working in the manner and affected by the mystical spirit of Joachim of Flora, to whose influence in Italy she devotes a substantial chapter. This is a thorough piece of work, and augurs well for the success of the new series initiated by the Modern Language Association of America.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

The Dialogue concerning Tyndale by Sir Thomas More. Reproduced in Black Letter Facsimile from the Collected Edition (1557) of More's English Works. Edited with a Modern Version of the same and an Essay on the Spirit and

Doctrine of the Dialogue by W. E. CAMPBELL. With an Historical Introduction and Philological Notes by A. W. REED, M.A., D.Lit., London. Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd. 1927. Pp. xviii, 632. Price 30s. net.

It has always been a matter for astonishment, and at the same time something of a reproach to scholarship, that the English works of Sir Thomas More have never been printed as a whole since 1557. This apparent neglect has, no doubt, been due partly to their bulk and partly to the fact that they have fallen between two (or more) stools in that their interest is at the same time literary, historical and doctrinal, and that the scholars in each department have regarded them as more properly belonging to the others. The volume before us, though issued as a separate and independent work, is described by the publishers as "the first of a *Complete Standard Edition* of Sir Thomas More's English Works," and it is greatly to be hoped that the support accorded to it will permit the whole scheme to be carried out.

In accordance with the varied appeal of More's writings, the editor has added to his facsimile of the *Dialogue* from the folio of 1557, pp. 105-288, a somewhat modernised transcript for the benefit of the reader impatient of black-letter and old spelling. There is also an excellent, though rather brief, general sketch of More's life and work by Professor A. W. Reed, a section on punctuation, spelling and language by the same, and an essay on "The Spirit and Doctrine of the Dialogue" by the editor. This essay forms an admirable, and most useful, introduction to the book, pointing out the circumstances in which it was written and making clear the general drift of More's argument. One or two points seem to call for comment. In the interesting discussion of More's difference of opinion with Tyndale over the words "love" and "charity" in 1 Corinthians xiii., a footnote on p. [84] is somewhat misleading. The note runs, "Tyndale's word *love* was rejected by the Authorised Version of 1611, and the word *charity* restored." The fact is that *charity* was restored in the revised Bishops' version of 1572,* ten years before the appearance of the word in the Catholic version of Rheims, from which the editor quotes the passage in his text. Again, the editor perhaps over-emphasises the ignorance of the time when he says, p. [94], that "Printing was then [c. 1529] a new thing, and

* The whole passage is quoted from that version in *R.E.S.*, ii. 237-238.

apart from the clergy, a very small proportion of the people were able to read what was printed." More's own statement, cited a few lines later, is that "of the whole people far more than *four-tenths* could never read English." From the context one might suspect that he meant that less than four-tenths *could* read it, but even so, do anything like four-tenths of the population of the country at present ever read a serious book of any kind? I doubt it. The great concern of the authorities in the sixteenth century to prevent the dissemination of heretical literature suggests that the effect of the written or printed word on the populace was regarded as likely to be not less, but rather more, than it is at present.

In future volumes the method of transcribing proper names might perhaps be reconsidered. The editor does not seem quite to have made up his mind how to treat them. Thus, in general, he appears to keep "Paule" and "Poule" (for St. Paul) as they occur in the original, but on p. 122 (modern version) he writes "Paule" for More's "Poule." He substitutes "Jerome" for "Hierom" on p. 82, but not on p. 312; and while "Hierusalem" and "Hieromie" are given as "Jerusalem," and "Jeremiah," such spellings as "Berwyke" and "Millayne" are allowed to stand. Surely it would have been better in a modernised text to give all names (save, of course, any of which the identity is doubtful) in their usual modern form. Seeing that the needs of the scholar are met by a photographic facsimile of the original, there is surely every reason for making the modern transcript as easy as possible for the general reader.

R. B. McK.

Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's "Euphues" and in Pettie's "Petite Pallace," with parallels from Shakespeare. By MORRIS PALMER TILLEY. University of Michigan Publications. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. viii+461. \$3.50.

THE greater part of this book consists of a list of passages, more or less proverbial in character, culled from Lyly and Pettie, with parallels from other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources. The author has succeeded in collecting a considerable body of material, which should prove moderately useful to the student of gnomic literature and to the editor of Elizabethan texts. New light is thrown upon

the use of the proverb as a rhetorical ornament, and also upon the widespread influence of Lyly and Pettie, particularly in "Maxwell Younger's" * *Resownes and Prowerbes*. Mr. Tilley's chief fault—a serious one in a work of this kind—is lack of discrimination. It is tiresome to be told that "Physician, heal thyself" occurs in Erasmus, Draxe and Lean, and "It is better to marry than burn" in Haeckel, Burton and Wander. Some of the alleged "proverbs" are mere allusions, e.g. "The Grecian ladies counted their age from their marriage, not their birth," and "What Penelope wrought all day, at night was all undone"; others are quotations, or epigrams for which no earlier authority is given and which were, therefore, presumably invented by Lyly. Such saws and instances are obviously distinct from the genuine proverb, a fruitful subject which still awaits adequate treatment. An index of sources should have been included in the book.

BERNARD E. C. DAVIS.

A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800.

By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge University Press. 1927.
Pp. 387. 16s.

THIS latest volume of Professor Nicoll's history of the drama is to be welcomed not only for the comparative novelty of much of its content, but for its comprehensive treatment of its theme. 1750-1800 is not a stirring period of dramatic history, as distinct from theatrical history, and Professor Nicoll chronicles its small beer without losing any of his sense of proportion; and though we may still be convinced that Sheridan and Goldsmith represent its best, we are reminded again—as Professor Nicoll means we should be—that they do not stand alone.

To have compressed the theatrical information of chapter I. into forty-eight pages is no mean feat; but the nature of the material, allied with this brevity, makes us crave for some illustrations. At the price this was probably impossible, but they would have added tremendously to the value of this section. The present writer would have preferred, on p. 37, not the usual Boaden account of Mrs. Siddons' ideas about stage costume, but some account from Professor Nicoll of the clothes she really wore. If such pertinent references as are available are to come in the next volume, this

* Otherwise known as John Maxwell, Younger of Southbar.—[Ed. R.E.S.]

criticism is uncalled for ; otherwise the present account is not definite enough to be useful.

Our appetites are whetted for more by the accounts of such things as private theatricals and melodrama. The extract from Colman's *Bluebeard* ought to encourage many to explore that masterpiece ! Similarly, the dominance of the popular taste for effect at all costs is nicely pointed by a citation from " Monk " Lewis : " I thought it would give a pleasing variety to the characters and dresses if I made my servants black ; and could I have produced the same effect by making my heroine blue, blue I should have made her."

Complaint may legitimately be made of the whole section dealing with English and foreign models of comedy (pp. 110-124). Its material could have been presented in some half-dozen paragraphs, had the aid of tabular appendices been called in. Pages 113-121 are quite enough to blind any one to the real value and interest of their contents (and incidentally pp. 63, 65, and 72 are similar offenders). The eye must be conciliated if the brain is to form any durable impression of these confusing debts and influences. Apart from this, however, Professor Nicoll's arrangement of his vast mass of material is simple and straightforward. Such charting of difficult country puts us all in his debt.

M. ST. CLARE BYRNE.

The Ettrick Shepherd. By EDITH C. BATHO (*on the dust-cover only* : A critical study of the life and writings of James Hogg). Cambridge : at the University Press. 1927. Pp. xi+234. Price 7s. 6d. net.

IN the days of Miss Batho's admirably treated subject all were *à la découverte du monde*. The subject-matter of literature, illumined by the brightness of discovery, was bewildering in its variety, dazzling in its freshness ; and the bewilderment of the crowd which jostled around Scott infects even yet the student and dilettante. What it certainly lost in depth it gained to their eyes in extent ; past and present, natural and preternatural, history and hearsay, his and mine, all became relative attributes. There was new subject-matter and no dearth of it ; to transform it needed the elementary process of understanding. Wordsworth made his own measurements on a diet of bread and butter ; not so, at least we may

say, John Wilson and the Contributors. It is a milieu of corporate exploration ; and " by the time we get a few glasses of wine drunk " everybody understood everything. But to fertilise the mind of the reader, ever, a vehicle has to be found in knowledge, art or genius, qualities which at last determine what is literature ; and, in their degree, what is great ; deficiency of them marks the magnificent riot of the nocturnal and ambrosian writings. So Hogg, because he missed the train to St. Boswell's, as he surely would to-day, had but to stroll, hat on, into the cenacle ; and the subsequent bankruptcy of publishers is a fact added to nature. Hogg had only to learn penmanship. " What's a Noctes without a Shepherd ? " he could ask triumphantly. He meant doubtless *The Shepherd* ; but he was not indispensable. He certainly knew that which he brought to the common stock, and did for educated men the duty of understanding it as part of his nature ; but in restraint, judgment, anything fine or artificial, he was ever lacking ; instead, he possessed uproar, impudence, finery, coarseness.

The introduction to him when, on barter wages, he tended other men's sheep on the right side of the hill, calls for Miss Batho's timely warning that all will not be always so. When the story is told, those early glimpses of the powerful lad are worth all his songs, and they are the best of him as a " bard."

But Scott started collecting ballads ; and, for the Shepherd's sake, it would have been well if he had discovered Lang's receipt and manufactured them at home. It was too much for his collecting indefatigability not to collect Hogg himself. Well he rued it ; and not unwarned, even the first time the men met, if what they say at Tushielaw is true. Scott created Hogg (Lockhart to Blackwood, August 18, 1834). Without the merits and defects of Scott's character there never would have been any Shepherd. Miss Batho's pious surmise that we might still have his best had he remained what he always called himself, expresses well the regret that he wrote all he did. In her study of the man and his writings she has done the best for both. With gravity and thoroughness becoming the preparation of an academical thesis she has plotted the history ; discovered, read and examined the printed and written word, primary and ancillary ; collated all that calls for comparison ; lighting her search with good understanding of contemporary manners, literary, social and national ; docile, as we judge from the dedication, to a man of incomparable knowledge and judgment. The result is a

faithful, indulgent, copious display of whatever the Shepherd wrote ; which compels the assent of the reader that all found at the bottom of the crucible is no more than the songs, *Kilmeny* and the *Justified Sinner*. Some might wish to find as well little things like the *Auld Dog* and the *Wee House* ; but Miss Batho would rejoin that these could have been written by Hogg had he never gone out of sight of Eskdalemuir. The most voluminous of peasant authors will find himself in a class beyond his imagining : with Benjamin Constant, Robert Landor, Beckford, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, as the teller of a solitary tale. Every power Hogg possessed conjoined to produce the *Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*. From its straggling title to its ghastly apotheosis it is a recit of misery so compact and sustained that it becomes, diabolically, a work of art. The uniform emotion of it even represents what the Shepherd could never have himself experienced, the horror of moors, suitably encountered, in those who are not used to them.

For the man she has done the brave deed of owning up to all his faults, so as to lead to the happiest of unexpected verdicts : there, but for the grace of God, goes the gentle reader. What mortal shepherd could have stood the test : the endless sops to vanity, the company of enthusiastic writers who treated him at once as a genius and a buffoon, the tedious charity and forgiveness of Scott, the tolerance, for Scott's sake, of really great men ?

Hogg set forth as a big man. Such, battered of course, he returns to lie under the snowdrops in Ettrick kirkyard. The lochs, Yarrow and Ettrick, the majesty of the pastures are to be seen as Hogg last saw them, and they will not change in our day. The house he was born in is gone ; a surveyor has put up indications of the site like those for locating a hydrant ; but Altrive Farm has the air of a monument and all the other landmarks are obvious. The region has no need of the Hogg legend, but it does not refuse it ; and many a poet would be content to survive, like a drop in the sea, in the atmosphere of a dale.

JOHN GRAY.

William Wordsworth. His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations. By ARTHUR BEATTY. Second edition. Madison, 1927. Pp. 310.

THE first edition of this book, which appeared in 1922, attracted considerable notice by its painstaking demonstration of Wordsworth's

acquaintance with associationism and by the preponderant influence on Wordsworth's development which it ascribed to David Hartley. Its usefulness as a collection of material has been deservedly recognised, but it is marred by an imperfect sense of evidence and an imperfect mastery of the English language—as well as by some curious misapprehensions as to the state of Wordsworth scholarship on this side of the Atlantic. These defects are unfortunately not remedied in the present edition. According to the preface, the publication by Dr. de Selincourt of the early *Prelude* “shows the influence of associationism to have been even more precise and fundamental than the later text of the poem indicates,” but disappointingly little confirmation of this statement is produced. On the other hand, a small footnote of my own about Wordsworth's “three ages” has provoked an elaborate retort, of whose value the reader must be left to judge for himself. Apart from this and a few references to recently published work, the new edition seems to differ from its predecessor chiefly by introducing an extravagant number of misprints.

A. E. DODDS.

Dorothy and William Wordsworth. By CATHERINE MACDONALD MACLEAN, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1927. Pp. 129. Price 6s.

THIS book contains, I believe, no new material; but it is a very charming interpretation of Dorothy Wordsworth. Bold claims are made for her literary powers—“a woman of genius,” “the greatest of English descriptive writers,” “the most remarkable writer of prose in her generation,” and “an art stronger and more delicate than De Quincey's.” But whatever may be one's judgment here, there can be no two opinions as to the vividness and delicacy of Miss Maclean's portrayal of her personality. So intimate has her subject grown to her, that she seems to relive Dorothy's experiences with Dorothy's very temperament; and her style surely borrows something from the eager delicacy of her original. Of Wordsworth her opinions are just, but she has less to reveal. On the relationship of brother and sister she is again at her best, and she keeps her temper almost as well as Dorothy could have wished in her treatment of the sacrifice of her genius to the needs of a family which was singularly

blind to its claims. On the influence of Dorothy upon her brother's poetry she makes the interesting remark that the poems founded upon Dorothy's observation are not usually the best, for Dorothy's instinct for the right words made it impossible for William to get away from her narrative save by using words less good.

The faith that Dorothy is the heroine of the Lucy poems is subtly defined—"not so much that the Lucy of the poems is Dorothy Wordsworth (for that is a misleading way of putting the matter), but that the poems were the fruit of the love between Wordsworth and Dorothy." It is based on some sensitive impressions which in this connection are the best kind of argument; and the essay leaves me with the conviction that Lucy is indeed very like Miss Maclean's Dorothy, while she does not much resemble what is known of the calm and gentle Mary Hutchinson.

A. E. DODDS.

The Halliford Edition of T. L. Peacock. Edited by H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH and C. E. JONES. Constable. (Ten volumes, nine guineas.) Vol. VI. Pp. xii+384.

THE Halliford Peacock pursues its leisurely strut—not a feather out of place. I have hunted, as a reviewer should, for misprints, but without hope of gratification (*ψυκρον*, p. 158, is a misprint of 1812 that might have been mended).

In previous volumes we have had the novels (2-5; 1 will include *Headlong Hall* and prolegomena) and the occasional prose (9-10). Vols. 7-8 will complete the poems and plays. The volume before us is mainly devoted to the three early books of verse—the 1806 *Palmyra*, the 1810 *Genius of the Thames*, and the 1812 *Philosophy of Melancholy*—this last is reprinted for the first time. The order of publication is followed, but the revised (1812) text of *The Genius of the Thames, Palmyra and Other Poems* is preferred to the texts of 1806 and 1810, where Peacock altered them. *Palmyra* itself demands special treatment. Peacock wrote two (virtually distinct) poems of that name; both texts are here given in full.

The apparatus is, as before, all it should be. The bibliographical particulars will appeal chiefly to collectors; but collectors of Peacock deserve the indulgence.

R. W. CHAPMAN.

The Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle (1808-1866). The greater part now for the first time printed from the originals in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Edited by EDITH J. MORLEY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1927. Vol. I., pp. xii+1-537; Vol. II., pp. 538-904. 42s. net.

To research-workers this interesting and valuable collection will scarcely need recommending. It must be admitted at the outset that not very much is here added to our knowledge of Wordsworth as a poet. Little, indeed, was to be looked for in this respect; for Crabb Robinson did not meet the poet till 1808, when his best days were almost over; and of the 671 letters or parts of letters printed by Professor Morley, five-sixths date from after 1830, when Wordsworth was already an old man. Moreover, the bulk of the letters written by the poet or his sister Dorothy were printed, in whole or in part (though certainly with far less accuracy), in Sadler's *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of H. C. R.* (1869), or in Knight's *Letters of the Wordsworth Family* (1907). But of that great organism, the Wordsworth Circle, which has the poet and his family at the centre, and the Coleridges, the Southseys, Robinson, Miss Fenwick, and hosts of others at various points on the circumference, this collection gives a picture unsurpassed in detail and vividness by any previous publication. The final biographer of Wordsworth—for whom, notwithstanding Knight's improvement on Christopher Wordsworth and Professor Harper's on Knight, we are still waiting—will find it his most important authority for the later life.

Miss Morley has clearly had in mind the biographer and research-worker rather than the general reader. She is in fact a little in danger of forgetting the latter; and the rather heavy title-page and "get-up" make the books seem all too learned for the ordinary mortal. Yet it would be a pity if any *confirmed* letter-reader, whether academically inclined or not, should miss them; for they contain, scattered up and down, many delightful glimpses of character and personality. Dora and the birds perched in the cherry-tree at Rydal Mount; kind-hearted Miss Fenwick's tea-parties to school-children ("all girls, for the boys are too boisterous"), in honour of the poet's birthdays; the devoted Robinson mending Wordsworth's quill pens, or buying soap and candles in London for

Mrs. Wordsworth ; Miss Martineau with her house-building and book-writing, her pigs and cows and lectures on political economy to the labouring classes, and other signs of "amazing energy"; Wordsworth at seventy-three dragging his reluctant son-in-law out for long tramps "in all weathers," or taking his daily stroll to Miss Fenwick's and giving her a "smacking kiss" before he sits down to talk—about himself, of course ; James, the faithful family servant, left sole survivor of the older generation, and writing to Robinson in 1863 to thank him for the gift of a sovereign "and for all former presents of thee Same Kind"; and, finally, Mrs. Wordsworth, "perfect of her kind," who certainly moves through these pages with far more grace, and wins more of our admiration, than her husband. For half a century she was his wife, housekeeper, amanuensis, and secretary ; for years she tended Dorothy after her mind gave way ; she had to suppress her own grief, for his sake, when Dora Quillinan died in 1847 ; and when he too was gone she came home from the funeral and poured out tea as if nothing had happened:

There is a comfort in the strength of love ;
 'Twill make a thing enduring, which else
 Would overset the brain, or break the heart.

The nearest approach to an uncharitable remark recorded of her is in Miss Martineau's anecdote (No. 655) concerning the prejudice against railways in the Lake District which she shared with her husband :

"People from Birthwaite" were the bugbear—Birthwaite being the end of the railway. In the summer of 1857 Mrs. Wordsworth's companion told her (she being then blind) that there were some strangers in the garden—two or three boys on the Mount, looking at the view. "Boys from Birthwaite," said the old lady, in the well-known tone which conveyed that nothing good could come from Birthwaite.

We may hope they did not tell her (for she was a loyal subject) that one of the "boys" was the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII.

Wordsworth himself does not, on the surface, seem a very amiable person in these letters. Miss Morley, in her pleasantly readable introduction, tries hard to clear him of the charges of literary vanity and jealousy and of domestic tyranny ; but the letters themselves give her case away. Wordsworth loved both his sister and his daughter ; but he injured the health of both irreparably by the selfishness of his love. He *almost* angered Robinson by his petty jealousy of Goethe's fame. He seldom praised, and never generously ;

so that Landor's attack on him is understandable, though assuredly not justifiable. New and often amusing illustrations of his vanity are not infrequent in these letters; thus, in 1846, a fortnight after sending the new edition of his poems to Queen Victoria, he writes (No. 428):

I have heard nothing from the Queen, which I only care about for her own sake, concluding that she must have been anxious about and occupied by the state of public affairs, or that She cares little about Literature.

As a sample of what he expected (and obtained) from his womenfolk, the revelation (No. 349) that his wife and Miss Fenwick used to "share the toil of reading presentation copies" with which he did not choose to be bothered, may suffice. Wordsworth *was* self-centred, and often selfish too, in daily life; perhaps it was hardly possible for the most original poet between Milton and Hardy to be anything else. In any case, an overstrained defence obscures too readily the surprising degree of affection (as well as reverence) with which, in spite of all his faults, he inspired every one who knew him at all well.

Robinson, though represented rather one-sidedly in this collection (for not many of his letters are given complete), appears as we have come to expect from Sadler and from Miss Morley's recent volume of selections from his diary (*Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, etc.*, 1922). He was an Ordinary Person, remarkable only in his gift for friendship and in the vast range of his acquaintance. The school-girl's definition of "naive" as "ordinary to excess" might almost be applied to him; for (*pace* Miss Morley) he had no trace of originality or of creative imagination, and is a useful rather than an interesting writer. He had something of a nose (or should we say *chin*?) for coming talent, and a touch of Boswell's gift for getting on well with great men; but his critical faculty is negligible beside that of Hazlitt, to whom (see Sadler, 1872, vol. i. p. 35) he owed his introduction to the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge. His most attractive qualities, indeed, are his unselfishness and the modesty with which he recognised his own limitations.

The problem of what is to be done with the terrifying mass of papers which Robinson left behind him has daunted research-workers ever since Sadler printed, in 1869, his useful but too drastically "edited" selection, which contains only a tiny part of the material. We may be thankful that Miss Morley has taken up

the challenge at which so many have quailed. She promises us a *Life and Times* of Robinson, a volume of his correspondence with German friends, and an index of subjects and persons mentioned in the Robinson papers in Dr. Williams's library. When this last is completed (and, we hope, published) we shall have an invaluable guide to a whole world of information, much of which, admittedly, is not worth printing as it stands, though indispensable to the accurate study of the life of almost every man of letters from Blake to Matthew Arnold inclusive.

Something may be added on editorial methods in the present volumes. The omission of everything not directly concerning the Wordsworths from the letters of Robinson and others may be regretted, but was inevitable if space was to be economised. Yet the letters would have been easier to read if a rather less rigidly exact reproduction of the manuscripts had been aimed at. To omit full-stops because they are not in the originals, to preserve hasty and sometimes puzzling contractions,* and to print solemnly such utter trivialities as Wordsworth's note to his tailor (No. 669), or a scrawl on a visiting-card (No. 671), is of service to no-one. The logical outcome of such methods would be a photographic facsimile of the manuscripts; but surely there is a *via media* between this palpable absurdity and the garblings of Sadler or the carelessness of Knight—namely, to print what the writers *intended* to convey, with as little divergence from what they actually wrote as the just claims of the general reader will permit.

A less arguable defect is the rather frequent inaccuracy and inconsistency in the references and citations. Miss Morley does not, I think, mention anywhere the date of Sadler's original edition of the diary (1869, 3 vols.), and we are left to infer from a note on p. 19 that she has used the third edition (1872, 2 vols.). She might have noted more uniformly when her quotations from the diary appear in Sadler and when they are from the unpublished portions. There is no mention of the typed copy of the diary which has been made by order of the Trustees; "vol. xvi." on p. 20 (note 3) presumably refers to this. Finally, it is regrettable that more care was not taken with the references in the "List of Letters, etc." which begin on p. 28. We are told that "K = has appeared, often incomplete,

* E.g. "arles" for "articles" (p. 627); "Rep!" (p. 527), ? "Representational." The small "l" in such contractions is often confusingly like the number "1" referring to a note (e.g. on pp. 43, 48, 331, 721). It is a small point; but we should hardly have expected it of the Oxford University Press.

in Knight's *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*; S = ditto in Sadler's edition of the *Diary*"; but in fact the indications given are quite untrustworthy. Of about fifty letters tested, scarcely more than half proved to have been correctly noted. About a dozen (e.g. Nos. 16, 134, 222, 396) were not marked [S] though Sadler gives a substantial part of them. (Of several which *were* marked [S] Sadler gives no more than of those in the former group.) The letters which are in Knight and not in Sadler seem to be less often incorrectly noted; though Nos. 125 and 126 have been confused and the [K] should be prefixed to the latter. The references to letters which are common to both Sadler and Knight are often hopelessly muddled. As a rule, Knight merely reprints Sadler's "cut" version, sometimes with further omissions and mistakes; yet Miss Morley puts only [K] before Nos. 335, 336, 359, 371, 516, 518, of all of which there is quite as much in Sadler as in Knight. The worst confusion I have noticed is in Nos. 335-338 inclusive. No. 335 is marked [K] only; but Sadler gives slightly more of it than Knight. No. 336 is also marked [K] but not [S], which contradicts p. 515, note 2; p. viii. note 2 quotes correctly a blunder of Knight's, but omits to observe that Sadler has the correct reading; and, lastly, the sentence on p. 515 marked as "omitted by Sadler in his version" is wrong—it should be the *next* sentence! Nos. 337 and 338 have neither [K] nor [S], which again contradicts a series of notes on pp. 517-521; and Sadler in fact gives most of No. 337 and a small part of No. 338. It is fair to say that these mistakes appear to be more frequent among the later letters; yet we are left with no distinct idea of what has and what has not been printed before.

Errors and slips are otherwise very few and slight, and the notes are good. On p. 162 (note) Helen Maria Williams is not very appropriately described as a "minor novelist"; at p. 252 it might have been noted that the Kelsall who wrote to Wordsworth asking for a copy of *Yarrow Revisited* was the friend of the poet Beddoes (Robinson was later well acquainted with him); and the endorsement "1. II. 33" to No. 670 is surely not a date, but a reference to the bundle of letters. The following misprints may be noted in conclusion: p. 211, l. 5, "the" read "she"; p. 312, l. 6, "Arcenza" read "Vicenza"; p. 422, No. 257, "writen"; p. 553, "Bouterwell" (twice) should be "Bouterwek." The indexes are reasonably full and seem to be quite accurate.

R. W. KING.

Dickens et la France. By FLORIS DELATTRE. Paris : Librairie universitaire Gamber. Pp. 219.

PROFESSOR DELATTRE has published in this volume the very successful lectures he gave in 1926 in London. In a first part, he tries to determine the extent of Dickens' knowledge of France, and analyses the presentation of France given by the novels ; Dickens made what capital he could out of exaggerating some French peculiarities, but he was in sympathy with the French democratic and humanitarian spirit. A second chapter describes the gradual appreciation of Dickens in France, through the successive critics, and records the translations of Dickens into French, while assessing their popularity. Then Professor Delattre shows the influence of Dickens on the French novel. This influence had a somewhat peculiar course, as at first it flowed into the naturalist movement, and then to a certain extent checked and corrected it, by helping to bring a greater amount of sentiment into it. Dickens acted specially on and through Daudet. The fourth and last chapter is therefore devoted to Daudet, whose relationship to England is dealt with in a manner similar to the treatment of the theme "Dickens and France." These essays are not merely an exercise in erudition. The erudition is there, complete and sound, but Professor Delattre brings into it, all through the book, his special conception of a peculiar affinity between the French and the English : the profound differences between the two nations appear to him to create a position of mutual needs and to bring about a sort of Anglo-French spiritual entity which has had the greatest influence in the intellectual development of Europe. Professor Delattre writes in the happiest French style, and the reading of his book gives pleasure of the best literary quality.

DENIS SAURAT.

The Place-Names of Worcestershire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON in collaboration with F. T. S. HOUGHTON. English Place-Name Society. Vol. IV. Cambridge University Press. 1927. Pp. xlv+420. 20s. net.

THE editors point out that the cumulative evidence of the place-names supports the accepted view that Worcestershire was first invaded by West Saxons from the south after Ceawlin's victory at

Deorham (cf. *A.S. Chron.* 577). An earlier settlement is to be considered unlikely, in view of the absence of personal names in *-ing*, the frequency of feminine personal names, and the survival of much pre-English nomenclature. The political connexion with Mercia is to be regarded as having been made between c. 628 and c. 680.

Many interesting details are here brought to light. Thus, it is shown that the earliest forms of *Phepson* and *Whitsun Brook* point to settlement by communities from both Middle and East Anglian (Lincolnshire) territory, and that in *Conderton* we have almost certain evidence of a settlement by migrants from Kent. Attention is drawn to the rarity of Scandinavian elements. Of special interest are the details given of the ancient salt-ways. But it is unnecessary to make further reference here to the wealth of historical material which readers of the publications of the Place-Name Society are now accustomed to find placed at their disposal.

A striking characteristic of this county is the frequent occurrence of names descriptive of natural features. These, the editors write, "certainly seem to be commoner in Worcestershire than elsewhere, and they help to give the nomenclature of the county the distinctive character which it undoubtedly possesses." This would seem to point to peaceful penetration, and may even indicate deliberate anglicising of British names. When the place-names of Devon and the Welsh border have been fully examined, doubtless more light will be thrown on this question as well as on many British forms corrupted by the English.

For the present the editors have rightly refrained from detailed inquiry into the non-English elements of this county. They have however indicated a few elements of indisputably British origin, as in *Penn Hall* (Brit. *penn*), *Dorn* (Brit. *duro-*), *Bredon* (Brit. *brig*), *Crutch* and *Crookbarrow* (Brit. **crouka*), *Corse Lawn* (cf. W. *cors*), *Malvern* (cf. W. *moel* and *bryn*), *Minton* (cf. W. *mynedd*). *Carton* (cf. O.W. *carrec*). One is tempted to find a survival of another common Welsh and Cornish P.N. element in Kidley (O. Corn. *cuit*, W. *coed*). Is the topography against connecting Dunley with *dun*? I am ignorant of the topography of *Mamble*; but, if the first element is the same as that in *Mam Tor*, surely its meaning is "breast" (cf. *Moel-Famma* and the word *bron* in Welsh hill-names).

The full interpretation of pre-English river-names must of course be the Place-Name Society's last task; cf. Ekwall's valuable article

in the Society's first volume. In the Worcestershire volume attention is drawn to the etymology of *Dowlas Brook*, *Carrant Brook*, *Doverdale* and *Dordale*. Presumably *Pull Court* contains the word for "channel" which appears in O.E. under the variant forms *pull* and *pyll*. Also the stream-name occurring in *Bell Hall* and *Bale Broke* is doubtless connected with the Welsh *bala-* ("efflux of a stream from a lake"), while that occurring in *Ennick Ford*, *Inkford*, and *Inkford Brook* seems to be cognate with the Cornish *Inney*. For the meaning and form of the word *Wyre* reference might be made to Max Förster's *Ablaut in Flussnamen*.

To return to less unfamiliar fields, one may note that the family name *Molda*, suggested s.v. *Mildenham*, is recorded by Winkler for East Friesland.

The volume is a veritable storehouse for the student of English phonology, apart from its interest to the historian and the general reader.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

Notes on Relative Clauses, by OTTO JESPERSEN. **American Slang**, by FRED NEWTON SCOTT. S.P.E. Tract No. XXIV; **The Study of American English**, by W. A. CRAIGIE. S.P.E. Tract No. XXVII. Clarendon Press. 1926, 1927. 2s. 6d., 2s. respectively.

WITHIN the short space of fifteen pages Professor Jespersen discusses the three formal types of the English Relative Clause. He gives many pertinent quotations from his own collections, and in order to establish the actual modern usage he has made some interesting trial-statistics from eight prose and verse writers of varying styles.

His careful weighing of the rival claims of *which* and *that*, and his estimate of their divergent functional value, should not only be a help to philologists but may be commended also to the consideration of stylists.

Professor F. Norton Scott's nine pages of vocabulary have been "compiled for British readers who are struggling with the work of Sinclair Lewis and similar contributions to American literature." One notes that out of the first thirty-five words on his list five have already been explained in Thornton's *Glossary*. And several words and phrases are included which have been familiar to the man-in-the-street here for twenty-five years at least—e.g. *junk*, *yelp*, *spuds*,

a fat chance, and to pinch, jaw, grouch, and to chase skirts. Further criticism by an American correspondent is printed in Tract No. XXVII. Nevertheless, a useful little glossary.

There is no need to speak of the weight of scholarship and experience which lies behind Professor Craigie's pleasant article.

The great lexicologist distinguishes between "the potential and actual possession of the English tongue among the Colonists and their immediate descendants," and points out the enormous work of collecting which is required in order to establish the facts. He refers to the importance of documentary records, and shows the special value of the non-literary material of the eighteenth century.

We learn here something of the vast organisation necessary before the whole material can be set forth in an Historical Dictionary, a Dialect Dictionary, and a Slang Dictionary, of American-English. Of the studies leading to the realisation of these ideals Dr. Craigie indicates some already made or in progress. He is of course silent about the inspiration and guidance which the Anglo-Saxon world may take pride in having received from him.

To show the present difficulty of learning the facts concerning the origin and development of an Americanism some two dozen specimen words are given, with notes from the *N.E.D.* and Thornton's *Glossary*; and upon this list follows the expert's discourse on the weighing of such evidence.

Among things of special interest in this article are the comments on the passage of words across the Atlantic and the discussion of the possibility of estimating the speed of transmission, the recognition of the "far-reaching creative power of American speech," and the vision of the light which all this research into American material must throw on our own linguistic history as well as on the history of Anglo-American relations.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

A Grammar of the Dialect of Penrith (Cumberland). By P. H. REANEY. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., for the Manchester University Press (English Series XV). Pp. xv+214. Price 18s. net.

It is a pleasure to record the appearance of the survey of the dialect of another small region in Mr. Reaney's work on the dialect of Penrith—locally [pi:rəθ]. This book wisely follows the scheme

which has been made familiar by previous monographs such as Professor Cowling's *Dialect of Hackness*, and this standardisation of treatment gives to the growing body of quite independent surveys that unity which one would expect in the works of a specialist society. This is commendable and, incidentally, it is regrettable that no society exists which has as its aim the publication of dialectal surveys of this type, a society which would do for English dialects what the Place-Name Society is doing for English place-names.

That Mr. Reaney is not a native of Penrith, that he has not that intimacy with the dialect from childhood days, has proved no drawback. Indeed, the fact that he was rather a "stranger" but at the same time an unusually acute phonetician enabled him to hear with critical and unbiassed ears the somewhat conflicting evidence of dialect speakers, both those who were aware and those who were not aware of his observation of their speech. The district covered centres round Penrith and occupies one of the offshoot valleys of the river Eden; the dialect therefore belongs to the northern group. Until the eighteenth century there is practically no evidence of local speech except that found in texts such as the *Cursor Mundi* from neighbouring districts and in place-names which Mr. Reaney seems to have ignored, despite the dialectal value of fifteenth to eighteenth century spellings found in wills (often containing dialect words) and the Parish Church Registers. In and after the eighteenth century a certain amount of dialect literature has sprung up, but even in this there are so many discrepancies in the representation of certain sounds, such as OE., ON. \bar{o} (variously written *ui*, *ue*, *eu*, *yu*, etc., v. pp. 53-54), that historical interpretation of these evidences is frequently uncertain and sometimes impossible. Further, to take the example cited, the OE. sound \bar{o} was on its round of change long before the dialect literature begins, and one feels that Mr. Reaney's views (pp. 53 ff.), that OE. \bar{o} passed through the stage [y] to become Mod. dialect [iə], are not warranted by the material; if OE. \bar{o} did become a sound in the neighbourhood of [y] in Middle Scots we should not assume that it underwent the same development in Cumberland. It could quite easily have been diphthongised to [ou], written *ou**

* This, however, might represent [u:] according to AN. devices of orthography. In this case the development would be $\bar{o} > [u:]$, and the later development would be paralleled by that of Mod. Engl. [u:] (*boot*, *rude*, etc.) in the Midlands, where [u:] is fronted to a high vowel midway between back and front and then diphthongised to [iʊ]. From this there are many further developments due to fronting of the first element of the diphthong, such as [yu], [iu], [əu], [eu], etc.

in place-names (cf. Ekwall, *Pl.-Names of Lancs.*, 243), which seems to have been the first development of \bar{o} in N.E. Yorks (Cowling, *Dial. of Hackness*, § 159). From this stage the history could well have been [ou] > [øu] by fronting, > [eu] by unrounding, > [iu] by raising of the first element > [iə]. There is of course little more evidence for this than for Mr. Reaney's history of the sound, but it serves to show how difficult historical reconstruction can become in the absence of unambiguous evidence. But otherwise, Mr. Reaney's expert phonetic ability and his sound philological method have stood him in good stead in dealing with the history of the dialect in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

Comparison with other dialects is not consistently introduced. It may not often elucidate the local problems, but it would dispel any misconceptions which might occur to the reader of the book as to the provenance of modern dialectal pronunciations, and it would bring out the distinguishing features of the dialect. The preservation of OE. \bar{u} (pp. 58-59), for example, is found in many northern districts besides Penrith, whereas the modern diphthongisation of OE. \bar{u} to [əu] has nothing like such a wide provenance. As an example of the comparative method it is only necessary to turn to Mr. Reaney's scholarly exposition of the dialectal history of OE., ON. d and δ before r (pp. 118 ff.). Here, however, Mr. Reaney thinks that the confusion in ME. between d and δ (p. 120, line 17, printed β) points to the constant existence of [d] in ME. But words like *quedur*, "whether," etc., may be due to AN. influence or even to the scribal confusion of d and δ , and forms like *broder*, "brother," must be due to analogical transformation with OE. *fæder*, *modor*, etc. The material illustrating the change of d to *th* (*sic*, p. 121, = δ) is convincing, but might be supplemented as to general distribution and to a certain extent dating by a survey of place-name forms (cf. Mawer, *Pl.-Names of Northumb.*, 260, § 29). The value of these general dialectal surveys in a work of a special area is therefore great. Such a survey would have ruled out the derivation of *skelp*, sb. "a blow," vb. "to strike" (p. 112, note II). This word (found in ME. in *The Wars of Alexander* and the *York Plays*) is derived (*l.c.*) from ON. *skelfa*, "strike with the hand," and the p is explained as due to analogy with Gael. *sgeilp* "a stroke." The distribution of the word to-day is extensive (NCy. generally as far south as Warws.), and in ME. was probably more extensive than is indicated by the texts in which it is found. In many of these districts Gaelic

influence is impossible, and we must be for the present content to derive *skelp* from ME. *skelpen*. The distinction between Standard Engl. and the dialect is sometimes forced, as in § 477 (p. 140), where a list of words is given "with specialised meanings in the plural," such as *copper*, *light*, *salt*, etc. These are not characteristic of the dialect except in pronunciation, and their place is in the general phonology.

Besides a history of the sounds the work includes an account of the grammar, a full vocabulary, and two interesting lists of the dialect pronunciations of place-names and bird-names. Unfortunately, there are only two specimens of the dialect.

A. H. SMITH

OTHER BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. XV. General Index. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1927. Pp. xxiv + 411. 25s. net.

The last volume of the text of the *Cambridge History* was published in 1916, and the plan for a General Index was drawn up two years later. The very long delay in its appearance has been primarily due to the death first of H. G. Aldis, who had originally undertaken the compilation, and then of A. R. Waller, who had succeeded to the task. The index is a work of very great labour and, including as it does full references to the bibliographies, will undoubtedly facilitate the use of the book, though I fear that the high price at which it is necessarily issued will compel a good many owners of sets to content themselves with the excellent indexes of the separate volumes. At the same time I cannot help feeling that the value of some of the entries is hardly commensurate with the time and trouble they must have cost. Theoretically I suppose one ought to index *all* mentions of persons or places in a book of this kind, but is there really much use in mere strings of volume and page numbers extending to more than, say, a dozen? Under London, for example, there is an unbroken string of 450 references—apart from references to particular districts, houses, etc., and there are similar strings under Cambridge, Oxford, Paris, Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, etc., of 200 or more. Is it possible to imagine any one setting out to turn up all these references with a view to discovering what the *Cambridge History* has to say about these places or persons? Looking up at hazard a single reference under London (xiii. 216), I find "Coming to London when he [John Davidson] was a little past thirty, he fell into a better vein of chiefly lyric poetry." Now this is not a statement about London, but one about John Davidson, and it does really seem to be carrying formal completeness too far to index it under the place-name. Such completeness is, no doubt, a fault on the right side, but would not a little discreet sifting both have reduced the labour of compilation and at the same time increased the practical value of the index? Occasional bewilderment might, by the way, have been saved to users of the book if some warning could have been given when references are to *corrections* which do not occur in the earlier issues of the volumes. The printing of the book is of course up to the high standard of the Cambridge Press, but it seems a pity that neither the title-page nor the binding should be uniform with those of the previous fourteen volumes. It was perhaps necessary to cut new lettering for the back as this volume is somewhat thinner than the others, though this could surely have been avoided by the use of a slightly stouter paper, but it was certainly unnecessary that the lettering should be so entirely different in style.

R. B. MCK.

The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More. By Professor R. W. CHAMBERS. (Literary History Lecture, 1926.) London: Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford. Pp. 52. 2s. 6d. net.

In this admirable lecture delivered on November 5, 1926, Professor Chambers reconsiders the current views as to More's life and character in the light of the accounts given by his contemporaries, and shows how prejudiced many of the later historians have been against him. The lecture will bring enlightenment and some degree of comfort to many who have never been able to reconcile More's evident kindness of disposition and liberality of thought with his supposed illiberality of action and the cruelty with which he is charged in the treatment of his opponents.

Shakespeare in America. By Professor ASHLEY THORNDIKE. (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1927.) London: for the British Academy, Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, Amen House, E.C. Pp. 22. 1s. net.

An interesting study of the spread of a knowledge of Shakespeare in America. It is noteworthy that there seems to be no certain evidence of the existence there of any copy of a Shakespearian folio earlier than 1700, but that by 1795 a sufficient demand existed to give success to an American edition of his works.

Leopardi and Wordsworth. By GEOFFREY L. BICKERSTETH. (Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, 1927.) London: for the British Academy, Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, Amen House, E.C. Pp. 34. 2s. net.

A comparison between the philosophies of the two poets.

Specimens of Shakespeariana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Printed for the Bodleian Library by John Johnson, Printer to the University. 1927. Pp. 72. 2s. 6d. net.

This catalogue of the chief Shakespeariana in the Bodleian Library is based on one which was issued on the occasion of the Shakespeare Exhibition held there in 1916, and is intended to indicate the extent of the literature of Shakespeare which is available to readers. Its interest is, however, by no means limited to those who are able to visit the Library, for, although it is of course primarily concerned with editions which are to be found there, it includes notes on those which the Library does not possess, and thus forms an excellent introduction to Shakespearian literature as a whole. Indeed, there could, I think, be few better ways for a student to obtain a general knowledge of the extant sources for the text of Shakespeare and the present position of research with regard to these, than to make a careful study of this brochure. The Appendices contain passages from Aubrey and from Simon Forman's diary and a useful note on the sequence of Shakespeare's plays, with a table showing the order in which they were placed by Malone, Furnivall and "Modern Critics" respectively. There are six excellent collotype plates.

Andreas e i Fati degli Apostoli, traduzione dall' anglosassone con introduzione e note. FEDERICO OLIVERO. Torino: Libreria Fratelli Treves. 1927. Pp. xlviii + 124. L. 10.

A line-for-line translation of the *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* into Italian, with a good introduction discussing the sources of the *Andreas*, the relation between it and the *Fates*, and the connection of Cynewulf with the two. Prof. Olivero summarises the opinions of those scholars who have dealt with the subject, but offers no definite opinion himself. There are notes dealing with certain difficulties of the poems, and giving in some cases more literal translations that are adopted in the text.

English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes. Specimens of the Pre-Elizabethan Drama edited, with an introduction, notes and glossary, by ALFRED W. POLLARD. Eighth edition. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. lxxii+250. 8s. 6d. net.

It is unnecessary, and would indeed be impertinent, to attempt to review in these pages a book from which it is probable that the great majority of the readers of *R.E.S.* obtained their first acquaintance with the pre-Shakespearian drama, but a word of welcome may be offered to this new edition. The amount of revision which Professor Pollard has found necessary seems to be less than in the previous edition in which he had to take account of the important researches of Professor Reed into the work of Rastell and Heywood, but the few new contributions to the subject which have been made during the last five years are duly dealt with, the most important being perhaps Mr. A. R. Moon's probable attribution of *Theritis* to Nicholas Udall.

The Rehearsal by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and The Critic by Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Edited by A. G. BARNES. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. Pp. viii+168. 3s. 6d. net.

A convenient reprint, in modern spelling and punctuation, with an introduction dealing with the circumstances in which the two plays were written and produced, and briefly sketching the dramatic history of the 108 years which intervened between their performances. The notes explain the chief allusions, so far, at least, as this can be done in the space available.

Collected Essays, Papers, etc., of Robert Bridges. Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, London, 1927. Pp. x+30. Price 2s. 6d. net.

A reprint of Mr. Bridges' essay on "The Influence of the Audience on Shakespeare's Drama," which originally appeared in 1907 in "The Stratford Town Shakespeare," and is now reprinted mainly for the purpose of introducing certain novel letters and spellings the use of which Dr. Bridges advocates. The former consist of a new form of *i* not unlike a script *h* with a dot, to represent the diphthongal sound in "eye," and a tailed *n* for the "ng" sound. Two forms of *a* and *g* are also used to indicate different pronunciation of these letters. The whole is printed in italics with capitals of roman form, some of which range badly with the italics and with each other (cf. "TWELFTH NIGHT" on p. 27). The innovations in spelling will present little difficulty to any ordinary reader and none at all to one accustomed to an "old-spelling" text. As the title-page does not seem to accord with the contents of the book, it may be well to explain that other essays are to be published later, in which further spelling reforms advocated by Dr. Bridges are to be put in practice.

Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587). Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Volume I. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xx+346. \$5.00. 23s. net.

This volume of Professor Rollins' very elaborate edition contains the text together with the variant readings of the eight editions collated. The volume is, of course, complete in itself, but it seems better to defer comment until the appearance of the Introduction and Notes, which are to follow. There is, at any rate, no doubt that Professor Rollins' work will completely supersede all previous reprints of this most important book.

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS

ANGLIA, Vol. LII. (Neue Folge, XL.), March 1928—

The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian, together with the Worcester Version of the Nicene Creed (S. J. Crawford), pp. 1-25.

Textual Notes on the York Old Testament Plays (P. E. Dustoor), pp. 26-36.

The Influence of Foreign Opera on English Operatic Plays of the Restoration Period (D. M. Walmsley), pp. 37-50.

Variety-show clownery on the Pre-Restoration Stage (L. B. Wright), pp. 51-68.

Die Grundgesetze des englischen Stabreimverses (E. W. Scripture), pp. 69-75.

The Name of Mayfield in Sussex (Alfred Anscombe), pp. 76-78.

Anmerkungen zum Glossar des Tolkien-Gordonschen "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" (F. P. Magoun), pp. 79-82.

Weitere Beiträge zur ae. Wortforschung (Otto B. Schlutter), pp. 83-87.
Ae. *reod* "rubrum, stibium"; Gibt es ein ae. Hauptwort *onslege* m. "blow"?

Bemerkungen zum N.E.D. (Otto B. Schlutter), pp. 88-92.

On the name Walter de Bibbesworth.

"He's fat and scant of breath" (*Hamlet*, v. ii. 298) (E. von Schaubert), pp. 93-96.

CORNHILL MAGAZINE, February 1928—

The Amazing Meredith (W. M. Parker), pp. 158-65.

Some Thackeray Originals (P. R. Krishnaswami), pp. 210-16.

Continued, March, pp. 362-71.

—March—

Thomas Hardy, Novelist and Poet (George King), pp. 278-91.

Dr. Johnson at Harwich (E. S. Roscoe), pp. 330-33.

Charlotte Brontë, Heretic (J. Keighley Snowden), pp. 334-38.

—May—

Austin Dobson: Some Letters from his Friends. IV. 1894-1921

(Alban Dobson), pp. 569-86.

ENGLISH STUDIES, Vol. IX., December 1927—

"St. Joan" Once More (J. L. Cardozo), pp. 177-84.

—April 1928—

The Gerund preceded by the Common Case (W. van der Gaaf), pp. 33-41.

A study in historical syntax.

HERRIG'S ARCHIV FÜR DAS STUDIUM DER NEUEREN SPRACHEN UND LITERATUREN, Vol. 153 (New Series 53), February 1928—

Disraelis Vivian Grey II. als politischer Schlüsselroman (Maria Caspar), pp. 37-60.

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXVII., January 1928—

The Significance of the Hunting Scenes in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Henry L. Savage), pp. 1-15.

Additional Lines for Bale's *Kynge Johan* (Clarence E. Cason), pp. 42-50.

The Translated Passages in Carlyle's *French Revolution* (Charles F. Harrold), pp. 51-66.

LIBRARY, Vol. VIII., March 1928—

Future Work on the Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640 (A. W. Pollard), pp. 377-94.

The Decrees and Ordinances of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602 (W. W. Greg), pp. 395-425.

Caxton Documents (W. J. Blyth Crotch), pp. 426-55.

English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications [to the year 1600] (Eustace F. Bosanquet), pp. 456-77.

Addenda and corrigenda to the author's book on the subject (1917).

LONDON MERCURY, Vol. XVII., March 1928—

Thomas Hardy (John Freeman), pp. 532-44.

Meredith (Joan Young), pp. 563-74.

Dr. Johnson (Matt. Richardson), p. 575.

Note in copy of 1785 edition of Johnson's Poems.

—April—

The Death of Synge, and other Passages from an Old Diary (W. B. Yeats), pp. 637-51.

Sydney Smith (Osbert Burdett), pp. 673-83.

Bibliographies of Modern Authors (Gwendolen Murphy), pp. 684-88.
W. H. Davies (continued).

—Vol. XVIII., May—

Donne's Table-Talk (John Sparrow), pp. 39-46.

Alexander Pope (A. G. McL. Pearce Higgins), pp. 47-56.

Some Personal Recollections of Lord Macaulay (Dorothy Alston), pp. 57-66.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Edward Shanks), pp. 67-78.

Shenstone and Burns (A. J. Thorogood), pp. 79-80.

Authorship of epitaph, "On the Poet's Daughter."

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLIII., January 1928—

The Rules of Civility (1671) and its French Source (V. B. Heltzel), pp. 17-22.

The Date of *The Noble Gentleman* (B. Maxwell), pp. 22-27.
Argument in favour of 1621-22.

A Note on *Eastward Ho*, 1. ii. 178 (R. Withington), pp. 28-29.

Gleanings of Churchill Bibliography (R. C. Whitford), pp. 30-34.

The Source of a Note in Johnson's Edition of *Macbeth* (Miriam R. Small), pp. 34-35.

"He has no children."

The First English Translator of *Werther* (A. D. McKillop), pp. 36-38.
Richard Graves.

The Eve of St. Agnes and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (J. C. Jordan), pp. 38-40.

Stanzas 24, 25 and 27, and Canto II, 8-11.

A Note on the Date of *Winnere and Wastoure* (Jesse M. Anderson), pp. 47-49.

Reference to rising in Chester in 1353?

—February—

Susanna Freeman Centlivre (J. W. Bowyer), pp. 78-80.
Biographical and bibliographical note.

An Imitation of the *Faerie Queene* (W. H. Irving), p. 80.

A Canto of the Fairy Queen, 1739.

"Wynter Wakeneth Al My Care" (E. B. Reed), pp. 81-84.

Note on l. 11.

English Adaptations of French Drama between 1780 and 1815 (Edith Wray), pp. 87-90.

Fredegundis and Audovera (Pauline Taylor), pp. 94-95.

Another "accused queen" story.

A Note on the Cyrano-Swift Criticism (R. E. Bennett), pp. 96-97.

Swift's indebtedness to Cyrano re-affirmed.

A or *An*? (J. T. Hillhouse), pp. 98-101.

Eighteenth Century usage.

Musaeus in English Verse (D. Bush), pp. 101-04.

Chaucer and Wordsworth (S. Robertson), pp. 104-05.

Note on *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, II. xxxi.

Who Wrote Shakespeare's Plays? (O. J. Todd), pp. 106-08.

More anagrams of *honorificabilitudinitatibus*.

A Re-arrangement of *Christ and Satan* (R. L. Greene), pp. 108-10.

A *Roderick Random* Play, 1748 (H. Buck), pp. 111-12.

A Note (E. H. C. Oliphant), pp. 112-13.

The authorship of Acts III. and IV. of *The Queen of Corinth*.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLIII., March—

The Man of Taste (J. T. Hillhouse), pp. 174-76.

An Eighteenth Century confusion explained.

A Note on Chaucer's Yeoman (E. S. Krappe), pp. 176-77.

Use of peacock feathers for arrows.

A Note on *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, 38 (H. L. Savage), pp. 177-79.
Meaning of *lyame*.

Coleridge Marginalia (T. M. Raysor), p. 182.

From Crabb Robinson's copy of Steffens' *Anthropologie*.

—April—

Janus Cornarius's *Selecta Epigrammata Græca* and the Early English Epigrammatists (H. B. Lathrop), pp. 223-29.

The Parson's Tale: a Mediæval Sermon (C. O. Chapman), pp. 229-34.

Old English Verse in Chaucer (S. Robertson), pp. 234-36.

A Note on the Gothic Particle *þau* (A. M. Sturtevant), pp. 242-44.

E.K.'s *Elf* < *Guelph*, *Goblin* < *Ghibelline* (J. F. Royster), pp. 249-52.

Notes on the E.E.T.S. Edition of the Newcastle *Noah's Ark* (P. E. Dustoor), pp. 252-55.

A Note on Dramatic Piracy (L. B. Wright), pp. 256-58.

Tate Wilkinson's methods of reconstruction.

—May—

Heywood and the Popularizing of History (L. B. Wright), pp. 287-93.

Sir Thomas More's View of Drama (G. Williamson), pp. 294-96.

George Gascoigne and the Siege of Famagusta (R. R. Cawley), pp. 296-300.

Hunlafing (Kemp Malone), pp. 300-04.

The Second Book of the "Cædmonian" Manuscript (M. D. Clubb), pp. 304-06.

Note on early history of MS.

A Triple Burlesque (R. P. Bond), pp. 312-14.

Kenrick's *Old Woman's Dunciad*.

The Date of the *Garlande of Laurell* (Helen Stearns), pp. 314-16.

Shakespeare's Paraphrase of his "Thought-executing Fires" (P. Barret), pp. 316-17.

A Note on John Donne's Early Reading (T. E. Terrill), pp. 318-19.
References to Montemayor's *Diana*.

Another Letter by Horace Walpole (Helen S. Hughes), pp. 319-20.
Among *Percy Family Letters and Papers*.

The Model for Pope's Verses *To the Author of a Poem Intituled "Successio"* (A. E. Case), pp. 321-22.

Dorset's *To Mr. Edward Howard*, on . . . "The British Princes."

The Date of Spenser's Death (W. I. Zeitler), pp. 322-24.

A Note on *Eastward Ho*, i. ii. 178 (Lane Cooper), pp. 324-25.

"Agrippa's Shadows" (W. P. Mustard), p. 325.

Note on the second prologue of *Campaspe*.

The *Essay on Man*, Epistle II., Lines 31-34 (D. F. Bond), p. 326.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, Vol. XXIII., April 1928—

The "Soul of Grammar" and the "Philosophy of Grammar" with special reference to the question of English Cases (W. E. Collinson), pp. 129-44.

Cleopatra (E. E. Stoll), pp. 145-63.

Grendel's Descent from Cain (S. J. Crawford), pp. 207-08.

A Note on "The Knight's Tale" (Mabel Day), p. 208.

On I. A. 2625.

Textual Notes on Three Non-Cycle Mystery Plays (P. E. Dustoor), pp. 208-12.

The Norwich *Creation of Eve and the Fall*, the Dublin MS. *Abraham and Isaac*, and the Brome MS. *Abraham and Isaac*.

The Cambridge Play "Lælia" (G. C. Moore Smith), p. 212.

The Plague in "Romeo and Juliet" (V. Walpole), pp. 213-15.

The Earliest Expression of Delight in Mountains in the Poetry of the Eighteenth Century (P. K. Das), pp. 215-16.

MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXV., February 1928—

Almain and Ermonie as Tristan's Home (Ernst Brugger), pp. 269-90.

Two Notes on Chaucer's Sea-Fight (K. G. T. Webster), pp. 291-92.

Illustrations of *Legend of Cleopatra*, 69.

The Manuscript of *Paradise Lost* (J. H. Hanford), pp. 313-17.

New Data on Keats's Friend Reynolds (G. L. Marsh), pp. 319-29.

MONTHLY CRITERION, Vol. VII., February 1928—

Burns and his Race II. (J. M. Robertson), pp. 154-68.

NEOPHILOLOGUS, Vol. 13, October 1927—

The Text of the *Merchant of Venice* (B. A. P. van Dam), pp. 33-51.

—January 1928—

Shakespeare's Epitaphs and Francis Bacon (J. H. Kern), pp. 107-17.

Refutation of the Baconians.

Shakespeare's lost Chance (J. A. Falconer), pp. 117-23.

Measure for Measure.

—April—

Opmerkingen over beschrijvingskunst in den Engelschen roman

(A. G. van Kranendonk), pp. 199-213.

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Vol. CIII., May 1928—

De Quincey, the Goblin (Thomas Burke), pp. 699-708.

NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 154, February 4, 1928—

Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings (H. B.), pp. 76-78.

Continued weekly.

Further notes by Evan Cotton, February 18, pp. 119-20, March 17, p. 190, and April 28, p. 300; by M. A. Bowers, March 31, p. 230.

NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 154, February 11—

An Early Performance of *Romeo et Juliette* (G. H. White), pp. 95-96.
Amateur performance at Neufchâtel-en-Bray, 1581.

Sackville's Buckingham and Milton's Satan (Theodore Stenberg),
p. 100.

Note by L. R. M. Strachan, February 25, p. 141.

—February 18—

Wordsworth's Part in the Production of Lamb's *Specimens* (John M. Turnbull), pp. 114-15.

Reference in a letter of Mary Lamb.

Elizabeth Sophia Tomlins, 1763-1828 (K. Povey), pp. 115-16.
Bibliographical details.

The Durham MS. of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* and *A Gorgeous Gallery*
(Theodore Stenberg), p. 116.

Edmund Spenser, his Connection with Co. Northants (Hieronymus),
p. 123.

Note by A. S. W. Clifton, March 17, p. 195.

—February 25—

Shakespeariana: *Hamlet*, Act v. end: "Wild" (V.R.), pp. 134-35.

—March 10—

On a Line from *Romeo and Juliet* (C. M. Bowen), pp. 167-68.
v. iii. 216.

—March 17—

Marryat and Dickens: "The City of Eden" (Robert Pierpoint),
p. 186.

—March 24—

A Bibliography of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, 1792-1794
(Theodore Besterman), pp. 201-04.

Continued March 31, pp. 221-25.

—April 7—

Robert Wilson and *Sir Thomas More* (S. R. Golding), pp. 237-39.
The authorship of the "three pages." Continued April 14, pp. 239-62.

—April 21—

Shakespeare's Puritan Relations (S. O. Addy), pp. 273-76.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. VII., January 1928—

Juvenal in England, 1750-1802 (R. C. Whitford), pp. 9-16.

Jeremy Collier and Francis Bacon (E. L. Freeman), pp. 17-26.

Collier's Essays.

Shakespeare's Allusions to the Older Drama (Katherine H. Gatch),
pp. 27-44.

Wordsworth and Thomas Taylor (F. E. Pierce), pp. 60-64.

Castiglione's Influence on Spenser's Early Hymns (Rensselaer W. Lee), pp. 65-77.

Two Notes on the Gothic Text (A. M. Sturtevant), pp. 78-82.
Gastojanaim; Uskarjan, Unskaus.

Iewes Werk (H. S. Ficke), pp. 82-85.
Sir Thopas, 153.

"Caesar did never wrong but with just cause" (Mary Proestler), pp. 91-92.

—April—

Aldhelm's "Rude Infancy" (A. S. Cook), pp. 115-19.

An Examination of the Chronology of Coleridge's Lecture Notes (Dorothy I. Morrill), pp. 138-50.

English Literature, 1660-1800: A Current Bibliography (R. S. Crane), pp. 155-94.

Notes for *Prometheus Unbound* (C. A. Brown), pp. 195-98.
On IV. 539-42 and IV. 287-316.

Green Shoestrings (M. Channing Linthicum), pp. 198-99.

Significance of colour in costume of sixteenth century plays.

The Use of the Weak Inflection of the Gothic Adjective in a Vocative Function (A. M. Sturtevant), pp. 199-201.

A Note on Lyly's *Euphues* (A. R. Benham), pp. 201-2.
A Newe ballade of the Marigolde.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Vol. XLIII., March 1928—

Legends of Joseph in Old and Middle English (Frederic E. Faverty), pp. 79-104.

The Pearl and its Jeweler (Oscar Cargill and Margaret Schlauch), pp. 105-23.

Suggested identification of the Pearl.

Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*? (Frances A. Foster), pp. 124-36.

A New Examination of the Manuscript of the Towneley Plays (Louis Wann), pp. 137-52.

The York Plays and the *Gospel of Nichodemus* (Eleanor G. Clark), pp. 153-61.

Edmund Waller as a Member of the Royal Society (Claude Lloyd), pp. 162-65.

Contemporary Satire in Otway's *Venice Preserved* (John R. Moore), pp. 166-81.

The Opposition to Neo-Classicism in England between 1660 and 1700 (Paul S. Wood), pp. 182-97.

Brooke's *Universal Beauty* and Modern Thought (Lionel Stevenson), pp. 198-209.

Two Contemporary Sources of Sheridan's *The Rivals* (Miriam Gabriel and Paul Mueschke), pp. 237-50.

Garrick's *Miss in her Teens* and Colman's *Deuce is in Him*.

Ritson's *Life of King Arthur* (Annette B. Hopkins), pp. 251-87.

British Republication of American Writings, 1783-1833 (William B. Cairns), pp. 303-10.

The Choriambus in English Verse (E. W. Scripture), pp. 316-22.

REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAIN, Vol. 5, February 1928—

L'Amour dans les Romans de Thomas Hardy (J. J. Mayoux), pp. 201-18.

Concluded April, pp. 331-39.

Le Tristan d'Edwin Arlington Robinson (fin) (Ch. Cestre), pp. 219-28.

T. L. Peacock, ami de Shelley (A. Digeon), pp. 229-43.

—April 1928—

L'homme dans le roman marin de Conrad (P. Chevrillon), pp. 316-30.

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXV., April 1928.

Spenser's Reason for Rejecting the Cantos of Mutability (Evelyn M. Albright), pp. 93-127.

A New Interpretation of Spenser's *Muiopotmos* (Viola B. Hulbert), pp. 128-48.

Hall's Satires and the Harvey-Nashe Controversy (Sandford M. Salyer), pp. 149-70.

Thomas Heywood's "Pack Clouds Away" and *The Rape of Lucrece* (John R. Moore), pp. 171-77.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, February 2, 1928—

"Keilets" (Richard Aldington), p. 80.

"Bendels" (Lord Latymer), p. 80.

Suggested emendation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 213.

Per Maria (Wilfred S. Jackson), p. 80.

Note on Lamb's letter to Coleridge, October 9, 1802. Reply by George Gordon, February 9, p. 96. Note by J. A. Rutter, February 23, p. 131.

Hardy's Waterloo Lyric (Edward Clodd), p. 80.

Extract from letter from Hardy.

—February 9—

The Novels of George Meredith, pp. 85-86.

Swinburne's *Death of Sir John Franklin* (Georges Lafourcade), p. 96.
Date of composition.

—February 16—

Milton's Letters (Thomas O. Mabbott), p. 112.

Five unpublished letters to Mylius.

A Game at Chess (Louis B. Wright), p. 112.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, February 23—

Thomas Hardy and "Anti-Scrape," p. 129.

Note by W. M. Parker, March 1, p. 150.

The Case against Carlyle (L. R. M. Strachan), p. 130.

Misquotations from Goethe. Notes by F. Melian Stawell and Norwood Young, March 1, p. 150.

Philip d'Auvergne (J. W. Horrocks), p. 130.

Note on Jane Austen's friend.

The Carisbrooke Cartulary (H. H. E. Craster), p. 131.

Bibliographical note.

Coleridge's Pantheistic Hymn (W. J. B. Pienaar), p. 131.

Version in *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, October 1, 1832.

Pepys and Magdalene (O. F. Morshead), p. 131.

Additional reason for migration from Trinity Hall.

Note by J. R. Tanner, March 1, p. 150.

—March 1—

"Artificial" Comedy (E. E. Stoll), p. 150.

Reply by G. M. Trevelyan, March 8, p. 170; by T. A. Lacey, March 15, p. 188.

—March 8—

Actors' "Gag" in Elizabethan Plays (E. K. Chambers), p. 170.

—March 15—

Errors in the Text of Collins (H. W. Garrod), p. 188.

Notes by J. R. Macphail and A. Macdonald, March 22, p. 221; by Margaret Bourke, March 29, p. 243; by H. O. White, April 5, p. 257; by John Sparrow, April 12, p. 273.

Gray and the Beddingfields (Paget Toynbee), p. 188.

Identification of author of *Melpomene*.

—March 22—

The Text of *The School for Scandal* I. (M. J. Ryan), p. 212.

Continued March 29, p. 240. Note by W. J. Lawrence, April 5, p. 257; by R. Crompton Rhodes, April 26, pp. 313-14.

"Was This the Face?" (E. H. W. Meyerstein), p. 221.

Marlowe's debt to Lucian.

Wordsworth and Comte (Jean La Cécilia), p. 221.

Similarities of conception.

—March 29—

Poems by Ann Radcliffe (Michael Sadleir), p. 242.

Authenticity of 1816 volume.

L.E.L. (C. A. Maginn), p. 242.

Biographical note.

Blake: a Textual Point (Max Plowman), p. 243.

Correction of misreading from the Rossetti Manuscript.

—April 5—

Manuscripts of Thomas Gray and William Mason at York (Leonard Whibley), p. 257.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, April 12—

The Chronicles of the Canongate, pp. 261-62.

Untraced Quotations in Wordsworth (Nowell Smith), p. 272.

—April 19—

Nicholas Udall's Lost Tragedy *Ezechias* (A. R. Moon), p. 289.

Sir Walter Scott (H. W. Meikle), p. 290.

MS. account of the Theatrical Fund dinner, February 23, 1827.

The School for Scandal and the Round "S" (M. J. Ryan), p. 290.

Notes by R. W. Chapman and Vernon Rendall, April 26, p. 314.

Texts and Prompt Copies (T. W. Baldwin), p. 290.

Burns and Rudel (J. H. E. Schroder), p. 290.

"Sae far awa" and a sonnet by Rudel.

—April 26—

Hamlet's Fatness (A. J. Farmer), p. 313.

Oliver Edwards (A. L. Reade), p. 313.

Carlyle on Blake and Vitalis (James A. S. Barrett), p. 313.

Conjectural ascriptions.

Abraham Ivory the Player (W. J. Lawrence), p. 314.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS BULLETIN: STUDIES IN ENGLISH, Number 6,
December 1926—Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland (C. H. Slover),
pp. 5-52.A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia* (T. P. Harrison, Jr.), pp. 53-71.Montemayor's *Diana* and its continuations.Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana* (T. P. Harrison, Jr.), pp. 72-120.Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets (Theodore Stenberg),
pp. 121-45.Peele's Use of Folk-Lore in *The Old Wives' Tale* (Sarah L. C. Clapp),
pp. 146-56.Pope and *The Patriot King* (Fannie E. Ratchford), pp. 157-77.The Source of Rider Haggard's *She* (H. S. Ficke), pp. 178-80.

6,
(r),
so.
(g),
p),

u
8
N
C
L
A
Z